

FOVRE
SERMONS,
LATELY PREACH-
ed, by *Martin Fotherby*
Doctor in Diuinity, and Chaplain
vnto the Kings Maiestie.

The first at *Cambridge*, at the Masters Commencement.
July 7. Anno 1607.

The second at *Canterbury*, at the Lord Archbishops visitation. Septemb. 14. Anno 1667.

The third at *Pauls Crosse*, vpon the day of our deliuerance
from the gun-powder treason. Nouemb. 5. Anno 1607.

The fourth at the Court, before the Kings Maiestie. No-
uemb. 15. Anno 1607.

*Whereunto is added, An answer vnto certaine
objections of one vnresolved, as concerning the
use of the Crosse in Baptisme: written by him
in Anno 1604. and now commanded to
be published by authoritie.*

~~~~~

AT LONDON,  
Printed by HENRY BALLARD, for  
C. K. and W.C.  
1608.

LOVE  
SERMONS  
BY  
THE  
REV. J. H. ...  
Chaplain of the ...



AT LONDON  
Printed by ...

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# TO THE MOST REVEREND

Father in God, and singular Patron of all good  
learning, the Lord Archbishop of Canturbury his Grace,  
Primate of all England, and Metropolitane, and  
one of the Lords of his Maiesties most Honou-  
rable Priue Counsell.



RIGHT honourable, and my gracious  
good Lord, I make bold to present to the  
view of your wisdom, foure Sermons pre-  
ached by me, though not very lately, yet not  
very long since; upon speciall occasions, as  
their titles shewe. Being hitherto unwilling that they  
should see the light; though thereunto I haue bene greatly  
importuned, both by the instance of diuers my iudicious  
friendes, and (for some of them) pressed, by the reuerend  
authority of your Graces owne name, which (notwithstan-  
ding) I haue hitherto detrected, as knowing how little need  
full it is, to pester the world with any more bookes, which  
groweth already vnder the burden of them: Yet am I now  
beaten from my former resolution, by the incessant importu-  
nitie of certaine seduced, and seducing spirits, who (swelling  
with a windie opinion of knowledge, falslie so called) haue  
taken great exception at the second of these Sermons, which  
was preached at your Graces visitation, and as yet, make no  
end of iraducing it to the world, as tending directly vnto  
the disgrace of preaching. For the detecting of whose igno-  
rance, and conuincing of their malice, I am now not un-  
willing, to publish to the world what was spoken at that time:  
if your Grace doe not esteeme it, as a thing borne out of time.  
Not doubting, but that wick passed the fauourable censure

more

which

## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

of so reuerend and so learned an assembly as then were the hearers, will now find like acceptance, with all that be indications and indifferent Readers. As for Papists, and (their confederates in this cause) our schismatickes and Sectaries, I neither expect, nor respect their approbation of it. They be now (as we hope) not in any so great number, as that any great reckoning is to be made of them: especially, in your Graces peculiar Dioces, which (I am verily perswaded) is better defecated and purged, both from Papistes and Schismaticks, then any other quarter of this land; which as it is our most blessed peace and quiet, so may it be your Graces exceeding ioy and comfort.

*author*  
These slender labours and induours of mine, I presume to offer vnto your Graces patronage, not onely in respect of my strict obligation vnto your Lordship for many of your forepassed most honorable fauours: but also, because (in true account) your Grace may rightly be esteemed the very anchor of all these, & my selfe but the instrument: they all of them receiuing their first motion and being (either directly, or occasionally) from your gracious fauour, as from their first mouer: which, as it giueth me full assurance of your honorable acceptance; so it bindeth me to performance of all dutifull obseruance; and to pray for the continuance of your Graces most prosperous and happie estate, that as God hath made you hitherto a notable instrument, to settle and establish both his truth and Church amongst vs, so wee may long inioy you, to the comfort of all them that wish well vnto them both.

Your Graces most obliged

to all humble duty,

MARTIN FOTHERBY.



## The first Sermon, at Cambridge.

ECCLES. I. VER. 2.

*Vanitie of vanities, saith the Preacher: Vanitie of vanities, all is Vanitie.*

haue



THE Iewish Rabbines prescribed vs this excellent rule for the right vnderstanding of euery text of Scripture: *Qui non aduertit, & quid supra, & quid infra scriptum, is plane peruertit viuens Dei verbum*: He that weigheth not what is written, both aboue and below, shal neuer well expound that is written betweene them. Now, if we proceede by this rule in expounding of this Scripture, wee shall finde that King Salomon in this booke of the Preacher, had a two-fold end, the one of them subordinate vnto the other. For first, if we looke vpward to the beginning of this booke, we shall there finde this sentence which I now haue read vnto you, *Vanitie of vanities, all is vanity*: wherein his end and scope must needs bee, to bring vs out of loue and conceit with earthly things, as being vile and vnprofitable, nay, hurtfull and damageable; which there he implieth by this title of Vanity. Secondly, if we looke downeward to the end of this booke, we shall there finde this sentence, *Let vs heare the summe of al, Feare God and keepe his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man*: wherein his end must needs againe be, to bring vs into loue with diuine and heavenly things, and (as the Apostle Paul aduiseh) to make vs seeke those things that are aboue, as comprehending in them the

Cap. 12. 13

Col. 3. 1.

onely true felicity; So that King *Salomon* in this booke hath (as I said) a double end: The first is to reuoke vs from the loue of the world: The second to prouoke vs vnto the loue of God, which will certainly ensue and follow in vs, if the former obstaele be remoued from vs.

1. Iohn 4. 16.

Plut. in vita  
Solon.

on life

For our God and Creator, who is perfect loue himselfe, hath made vs his creatures of such a louing nature, that (as *Plutarch* well obserueth) we needes must be alwayes louing of some thing: so that if our loue bee diuerted from the world, it needes must be conuerted vnto God; or else it should lie idle, which loue cannot doe; that is against the very nature of it.

Now King *Salomon* to diuert our loue from the world, and the things of the world, he vseth none other argument thorowout this whole booke, but onely this one, to tel vs they be Vanity: neither could he indeede haue vsed any reason more forcible to bring them into extreame contempt with vs, then by calling them Vanitie: for no word in the world doth more fully expresse the vile, and the thriflesse and vnprofitable nature of these earthly things, then Vanity doth.

And therefore seeing that King *Salomon* so constantly vseth the name of Vanity thorowout his whole booke, whensoever he speaketh of any worldly glory; calling them stil Vanity, and Vanity of Vanities, and nothing but Vanity; it shall not be amisse to enter a serious and diligent inquisition, what should be heere intended by this name of Vanity. For we must not thinke that the holy Ghost doth iterate so often and beate vpon one word, either rashly, or idly, or casually, or vnadvisedly, but for this speciall purpose; that we seeing this one word to be so often inculked, and so constantly vsed in euery place, might take the greater heed vnto it, and search with greater diligence into the hidden and inward meaning of it.

Neither shall it be a vaine or a needles labour thus to

hunt

hunt out this Vanity, but both profitable and necessary vnto our present purpose. Profitable, because if we know not what vanity meaneth, we shall neuer reape any profit by this admonition of King *Salomon*, in telling vs so often that *All is vanity*: for in the perfect knowledge of this one word, Vanity, consists the perfect knowledge, not only of this particular text, of which I now preach, but also of all this whole booke of the Preacher: which is nothing els in effect; but as it were a comment vpon this word, Vanity, as Saint *Augustine* obserueth. And necessary it will be, because the true knowledge of this word, Vanity, is a matter of greater difficulty, and more laborious inquisition, then any man would at the first imagine, as euidently appeareth out of *A. Gellius*: who maketh report of a notable conflict betweene two great and professed *Grammarians*, about this word Vanity, what it properly should signifie. Their controuersie being grounded vpon a place of *Salust*, where he censureth *Cn. Lentulus* to be such a one, as it was vncertaine whether he were, *Vanior*, or *Stolidior*; a more vaine or a more foolish kinde of man: the one of them maintayning, that both these two words did note but one vice, and that Vanity is nothing els but Folly: The other, that either of them deciphered a severall kinde of vice, and that Folly is one thing, and Vanity another; as hee there most plainly proueth.

But howsoeuer these two *Grammarians* dissent, as concerning the particular vice designed in this word, yet they both consent in this, that it is a name of vice: and that it implieth, that all those things vnto which it is rightly applied, are of a reprobable and vitious nature. So *thas* (as I said before) this Preacher could not possibly haue vied any word which more fully layeth out and exposeth to our eyes the base and contemptible, the bad and vnprofitable nature of all earthly glories, then Vanity doth.

Saint *Paul* speaking of them, he vseth a very homely and

Aug. lib. 20.  
De ciuit. Dei,  
cap. 3.

A. Gel. lib. 18.  
cap. 4.

that

dishonou-



σενβαλα

Phil. 3. 8.

Matt. 5. 13.

signification

Eccles. 1. 3.

Mal. 3. 14.

dishonourable name to expresse their contemptible nature by: he calleth them *σενβαλα* that is, dung, or drosse, both of them, vile and base: but yet neither of them so vile as Vanity is. For both dung and drosse may haue profitable vses, but that which is vaine, that hath no vse at all, it is vtterly vnprofitable; it is like vnto salt, when it hath lost his saltnes, which is good for iust nothing, as our Sauour Christ teacheth vs. So that this Vanity is of a more vile and abiect nature then the vilest excrements of the most abiect creature: for there is none of all them, that is clearely without all vse, as Vanity is, in what significations (soeuer you take it, as (if you will but looke into the diuers significations of this word Vanity, deliuered vnto vs by Heathen writers, and confirmed out of the holy scriptures) you may plainly see.

For I find this word Vanity, to haue fixe significations, & yet not one good one amongst them all, not one that implieth the least fruite or profit to be implied in it. To begin with that first, which I named last.

The first signification of this word Vanity, is al one with *Inuite*, that is to say, a thing without al vse, or profit, for so it foloweth immediatly after this text: *Quid emolumenti? What profit hath a man of all his labours wherein he hath trauailed vnder the sun?* He proueth al our labours about these earthly matters to be therfore Vanity, because there cometh no profit of them: for this is one essential note of Vanity, to be fruitlesse and vnprofitable: And therefore as God heere reasoneth against the world, that it is vanity because it is vnprofitable; so worldlings els where do reason against God, that his seruice is likewise Vanity, because it is vnprofitable: *Te haue said, it is in vaine that we haue serued God, and what profit is it that we haue kept his commandments?* They conclude it to be vaine, because it is vnprofitable. And the consequent is good if the antecedent were true. So that King *Salomons* first meaning in calling these earthly

matters

matters Vanity, is to insinuate thus much; that they be altogether fruitlesse and barraine of all good, and that there is no profit at all to be found in them. Saint Paul appealeth vnto the Romanes owne iudgement, what profit these earthly things haue brought them; *What profit (saith he) had ye then in those things, whereof ye are now ashamed?* And Salomon bringeth worldlings complaining, in this manner, of their vnprofitable labour about earthly things: *What hath pride now profited vs, or what hath the pompe of riches brought vs?* So that when it pleaseth God to open a mans eyes, to see the true vanity of all earthly glories, in their owne proper colours, as he did the Romanes eyes, by the preaching of Saint Paul, then doe they see most cleerely, that there is no profit in them, but rather that they be such vaine and foolish things, as that they ought to be euen ashamed of them, as the Apostle Paul implieth in the fore-alleged place. And surely, the true reason, why men are not ashamed, so foolishlie to bestow their vnprofitable paines about these transitorie earthly things, is, because God as yet hath not opened their eyes, to see the fruitlesse vanity of them, & how grossely they be deceiued in them, their sight being blinded by the god of this world, as the Apostle Paul obserueth.

To giue you an instance or two to this purpose: The theefe when he goeth about to steale, he hunteth after profit, and thinketh it better to reach out a little, then to liue in want, because the god of this world hath blinded his eyes: but when his punishment commeth, then he seeth his owne error, and then he is ashamed of it, and then he findeth by experience, that his stealing hath brought no profit to him, but incomparable losse. The licentious worldling likewise, when he hunteth after pleasure, he seeketh after that which seemeth good vnto him, because the god of this world hath blinded his eyes: but when his punishment commeth, then he changeth his minde, and then he seeth

Rom. 6. 37.

Wild. 5. 8.

1. Cor. 4. 4.

his folly; and then he is ashamed of it: *That he hath so merried himselfe in the waite of wickednesse; and yet hath got no profit by it*, as is notably declared, in the booke of *Wisdom*.

And euen so is it likewise in all other sinnes: though the sinner do alwaies propound vnto himselfe, (at the least in his conceit) a kind of profit in them, whereunto they seeme to answer, with appearing shewes of goodnes, yet he still findes in the end, when he hath made his triall of them, that they be indeede no better, but (as the Apostle truly calleth them) *Vnprofitable workes of darkness*: and therefore such as (of right) wee ought to be euen ashamed of.

But here we must take heed, that we measure not our profit by wordly gaine and commoditie: For, that oftentimes is losse, as our Sauour Christ teacheth vs in the Gospel; though a man should gaine the whole world, yet if he lose his owne soule: that gaine is but Vanity, because there is no profit in it. For so it foloweth in that very place: *What shall it profit thee to winne the whole world, if thou lose thine owne soule?* Therefore, we must measure our profit, not by gaine, but by godlines: for, that is the greatest gaine: and that (as Saint Paul teacheth vs) is profitable to all things, hauing promise both of this life, and of the life to come. That which a man gaineth with godlines, that is great gaine, and great profit, though it be but a little: but that which he gaineth without godlines, that is Vanity and disprofit, though it were the whole world: because he payeth his soule for it, which is more precious than the worlde, as it followeth in the forecited place. And therefore this our Preacher, who (in the beginning of this booke) telleth vs, that all is Vanity: yet (in the end of it) he excepteth godlines, that it is not Vanity: *Let vs heare the sum of all* (saith he) *feare God, and keepe his commandments: for this is the compleat duty of man.* This godlinesse is not vanity, because it is full of profit: it hath a great reward, (as our

Sauour

Wis. 1. 7. 2.

12. 3. 100.

Ephes. 5. 11.

Mat. 16. 26.

1. Tim. 6. 4. 8.

Eccles. 12. 13.

Summe.

Sauour Christ teacheth vs in the Gospell) *Grads is your reward in heauen.* Thereward of godlinesse, though it be but small in earth, yet is it great in heauen; yea as great as heauen, for it is heauen is selfe: but the reward of earthly profit when we seeke it without godlinesse, is the losse of heauen: and therefore al such gaine is meere Vanity, Vanity in this first sense, that is, meere vnprofitable and damageable Vanity.

Matt. 5:12:

The second signification of this word Vanity, is all one with *Vacuum*, *Vanum*, *tangum vacuum*: that is, *a thing that hath a show, but yet lacketh the true substance of that it representeth*: and so indeede is nothingels but onely an empty semblance.

*lacketh*

In which sense I finde this word applied three seuerall wayes: First, *vanum*, I finde opposed to *Plenum*: and so it signifieth a thing voyde and emptie. Secondly, I finde it opposed to *Grane*: and so it signifieth a thing light and windie. Thirdly, I find it opposed to *Verum*: and so it signifieth a thing false and crafty.

For the first of these three senses, to wit, *Vanum inane*, That is, empty Vanity. In this sense doth *Tully* vse that word in his oration *pro Plancio*, where he calleth those promises that be not kept, *Vana & inania*, vaine and empty promises: as (contrariwise) the keeping of promises both in our English and in the Latine tongue, is commonly called a fulfilling of them, *Implere promissa*. Promises if they be not fulfilled in their keeping, they be but vaine and empty in their making. In this sense doth *Virgil* likewise vse that word in the first of his *Georgike*, he calleth the empty eares of corne which haue nothing but a huske, *Vanas aristas*, vaine eares: *Exposita seges, vanis elusit aristas*. He calleth such eares vaine, because they be empty. And in this same sense doth likewise the Scriptures themselves vse that word. *Iob* calleth the dayes of this mortall life, *Menses vacuos*, moneths of Vanity, that is, voyd and empty moneths, empty

Cic. orat. pro Cn. Plancio.

Virg. lib. 1. Georg.

Iob 7. 3.

Gen. 47. 9.

Psal. 2. 1.

Plut. in vita  
Bruti.1. Sam. 16. 9.  
Eccl. 9. 4.  
Apoc. 5. 5.

Iohn 12. 32.

Psal. 1. 1.

Rom. 8. 37.

Iust. Mart. lib.  
quæst.

of all stayed and solid comfort, few and euill, as *Iacob* complayneth of his life. So likewise the Prophet *Dauid* in the second *Psalme*, hee vseth the same word, in the very same sense: *Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vaine thing?* He speaketh in that place of the attempts of the heathen against Christ and his kingdome. Which place of the *Psalme*, *Saint Hierome* translating, he putteth for *Vana, Inania: Inania moditatis sunt, They imagined vaine things*, saith *Dauid*; that is, voyde and empty things, saith *Hierome*, things voyd of reason and voyde of successe. For though they might seem to haue gotten a full conquest ouer our Sauour Christ, when they once had killed him, because (as *Theodotus Cebus* once said of *Pompey*) *Mortui non mordent*, A dead dogge biteth not: yet euen then did their fulnes proue to be meere emptines, and euen then did Christ begin his conquest ouer them. He, whom (whilest he liued) they counted little better then a dead dogge, as it is in the proverbe, after he was dead did proue a liuing Lion, a victorious Lion of the tribe of *Iuda*, and conquered the whole world, according to that prophetic which he had giuen of himselfe, that *If he once were lifted up, he then would draw all men vnto him*. So that all their attempts against our Sauour Christ, did proue, right indeede as the Prophet *Dauid* calleth them, but vaine and emptie imaginations: as likewise doe the attempts of like wicked persecutors against his members the Christians, they commonly proue vaine and empty.

For when they seek to conquer them by cruelty & persecution, they themselues are thereby conquered; and the Christians by their torments become more then conquerours, as the Apostle *Paul* teacheth vs: *Though for thy sake we be killed all the day long, yet are we in all these things made more then conquerours*. Thus (as *Iustine Martyr* hath very well obserued) *Tormenta paganismi, quibus ipse se defendis, paganismum tollunt, Christianismum firman*: The torments of the Pagans are the nourishments of the Christians: for this sect



of Christianity (as *Tertulian* truly noteth) *Tunc magis edificatur, cum cedi videtur*: The more that it is killed, the more it is increased: the blood of the Christians, as the same writer noteth (in another place) being the very seede of the Church: So that all the attempts of such wicked persons doe proue meereley Vaine; that is, voyde and empty, as well against the Church as against Christ himselfe. And therefore the Prophet *Isay* speaking of the Vanity of those vngodly men, which seeke to deuoure and swallow vp the Church; he compareth their attempts (and that very fitly) vnto a hungry mans dreame, who imagineth that he is filling himselfe at a banquet, but yet when he awaketh, his soule within him is empty and faint; and so are their hopes too, which desire to feast themselues of the spoyle of the Church, they doe vanish as a dreame, and their soules bee found empty; as (God be praised) we haue had great and gracious experience, and that very lately. And euen so is it likewise in all other earthly things, all the comfort which they yeelde vs, is but a false ioy, as it were in a dreame; but hee that is the fullest of them heere in this world, when hee awaketh and riseth vp vnto the resurrection, shall finde himselfe emptied of them all: *When the hungry shall be filled with good things, but the rich shall be sent empty away*, as it is in the Gospel: For as Christ when he came to vs in mercy, did empty himselfe quite of all his heauenly glory: so we, when we go vnto Christ in iudgement, shall likewise be emptied of all our earthly glory; we shall appeare before him naked, being stript of all those gay and goodly trappings, which now so much glorifie, and vanifie foolish worldlings, as euen *Plato* himselfe noteth. And then (as I noted before out of the booke of Wisdome) wee shall truly see the Vanity of all these earthly glories, when wee see how bare, and how naked, and how empty they haue left vs. This briefly for Vanity, as it is *Inanity*, that is, voyde and empty of all those good things, whereof it seemeth to

*Tertul. ad Scapulam.*

*Idem. Apolo. cap. 50.*

*Isay 29. 8.*

*Luke 1. 53.*

*Phil. 2. 7.*

*Plato, in Gorgia.*

haue store and plenty.

The second branch of Vanity, in this second signification, is *Vannus*, opposed vnto *Gravus*, or *Ponderosum*; and so Vanity signifieth a thing light and windy: so that *Vannitas* and *Leuitas* be in this sense *Synonyma*. In this sense doth *Salust* vse the name of Vanity, as *Nonnius* citeth him: *Mauritanum genus*. He calleth the *Morians* a vaine nation: that is, Light and viconstant; *Iugenis mobilis*; as he noteth them in another place. So likewise doth *Tully* vse this word Vanity in his booke of *Diuination*, where he complaineth, that the notable Art of *Diuination* is brought into contempt, *Leuitate, & Vanitate hominum*. By the leuity and Vanity of men. For, as the excellent Art of Musicke is growne into contempt through the basenes and lightnes of certaine vagrant musitians, which prostitute their comming at euery drunken feast: so likewise that renowned Art of *Diuination*, grew into great contempt, through the vilenes of certaine roguing mountbanks, & cosoning fortunetellers, which out of mens forheads, and faces, and hands, would take vpon them to diuine, and to reade hidden destinies: and thereupon it was, that *Tully* so complained, that the dignity of so noble an Art, had suffered such a preiudice, through the leuity and Vanity, of certaine hir professors. Vsing Leuity & Vanity, *Promiscue*, for one thing. And in the same sense, doe likewise the Scriptures vse the name of Vanity, for lightnes, and that which hath no waight or worth in it. The Prophet *Moses* calleth Idoles Vanity: and the Prophet *Isay* calleth them Wind: both words noting out their lightnes vnto vs; they are as light as wind, which is the lightest of all things; yea as light as nothing, as it followeth in that place: for an Idoll is nothing, as is noted in another place. The Prophet *David* likewise discoursing of the vaine condition of man, he vseth the same word, in the very same sense; for he saith, that *Man is deceitfull vpon the waights*: Yea, and altogether lighter then Va-

Salust. bel.  
Iugurth.  
Cic lib. 1.  
de Diuinat.

prostitute  
conuincing.

contempt  
mountbanks  
cosoning.

Deut. 32. 21.  
Isay, 41. 29.

1. Cor. 8. 4.

Psal. 62. 9.

nity is false. I have shew'd Vanity. Which must needs imply, that

Vanity is a very light and windy matter, when as it is put for a principall instance and example of lightnesse, as there you see it is.

The third branch of Vanity in this second signification, is *Vanum*, opposed vnto *Verum*, and so Vanity signifieth a thing false & crafty: so that *Vanitas*, and *Falsitas*, be (in this sense) *Synonyma*. In this sense doth *Plautus* vse the name of Vanity, in his *Moscellaria*, *Vera cantas, Vana vellem*; You speake the Verity, I would it were Vanity, opposing *Vanum*, vnto that which is *Verum*. In this sense doth *Terence* also vse the name of Vanity, in his *Eunuchus*, *Si falsum, aut Vanum, aut fictum, continuo palam est*: he calleth that a Vaine thing, which is a false and a fained thing: expressing *Vanum*, by his *Synonyma*, as *Plautus* did by his *Oppositum*.

And in this sense I find the name of Vanity applied most commonly vnto three severall things: First (in spirituall matters) I find Idolatry to be called by the name of Vanity, because it is but a false religion; it is *Falsum*, and therefore *Vanum*, as you heard before out of *Terence*. *It hath a shew of godlines* (as the Apostle *Paul* speaketh) *but yet it lacketh the power of it*. In this sense doth *Moses* vse the name of Vanity, in the booke of *Deuteronomie*, where complaining of the *Leues* in the person of God, he saith, that, *They moved him to ialousie with that which is not God, they promoked him to anger, with their Vanities*. As Idols are false gods, so idolatry is false worship: and both these called Vanity, because they be false. Hence likewise the Prophet *David* calleth such heathen worship Superstitious Vanity: Superstitious, because idolatrous, and Vanity, because false. Secondly (in common life) I find Lying to be called by the Vanitie, because, it is a false speech: it is *Falsum*, and therefore *Vanum*, as before I noted. In this sense doth *Tully* vse the name of Vanity, in the first of his *Offices*, where speaking of the falschood of tradesmen in

their

Most. act. 4.  
Sce. 2.

Eunch. Act. 1.  
Scen. 2.

2. Tim. 3. 5.

complaining  
Deut. 32. 21.  
Ier. 8. 19.

Psal. 31. 6.

Cic. lib. 1.  
Offices.

their aries, he saith, that *Nihil proficiunt, nisi admodum montantur, nec quicquam est superius Vanitate*. He saith their chiefest profit ariseth from their lying, rather then from their buying, which he calleth a dishonest kind of Vanity. A good item for such men. So likewise doth *Virgil* vse the name of Vanity, for lying and faining.

— *Nec si miserum fortuna Sinuem*

*Finxit, vanum etiam, mendacumque improba fuget*. Where (as you plainly see) he vseth *Vanum* and *Mendax*, a Vaine man, and a Lying man, as two wordes of one sense. So likewise, that *Apollinaris* in *Gellius*, of whom I spake before, he defineth *Vanos*, to be properly *Mendaces et Infidos*, that is, Liers and Vnsaithfull men. And in this same sense doe likewise the Scriptures vse the name of Vanity: *O yeo seedes of men*, (saith the Prophet *David*) *how long will yeo loue vanity, and seeke after lies?* Where the latter word expoundeth what is meant by the former, to wit, that by Vanity, he vnderstandeth Lying. So likewise in an other place, *Vanitatem loquuntur, quisque cum proximo suo*: They speake Vanity euery man with his neighbor: that is, they speake deceitfully, and tell lies. Thurdly (in friendship) I find Flattery to be called by the name of Vanity, because it is but a false and a counterfeited loue. It likewise is *Falsum*, and therefore *Vanum*. In this sense, doth *Tully* vse the name of Vanity, in his booke *De Amicitia*: *Assentatio ea est molestissima* (saith he) *cum ad vanitatem accedis auctoritas*: He saith, that Flattery is then a most dangerous quality, when as men of authority doe abate themselves, to so vile a Vanity. In this sense doth *Accius* vse the name of Vanity also: putting *Vanum* for *Falsum*, as *Nonnius* obserueth; and he citeth this place out of his *Alcega*, which notably expresseth the whole nature of Vanity, in this present sense, as it is taken for *Falsity*. *Tanta frustrando letamini, et vanum protrahitis*. So that *Vanum* is that which doth *Protrahere*, and *Frustrando letare*: A vaine thing is that which leadeth on our desire, and

Virg. lib. 2.  
Æneid.

A. Gel. lib. 18.  
cap. 4.

Psal. 4. 2.

Psal. 12. 2.

Cic. lib. de  
Amicit.

as it were suckleth it with a false and flattering hope, and yet vtterly frustrates and deceiueth it in the end.

So that (to gather all the branches of this second signification of Vanity into one bundle, and to apply them vnto our present purpose) King *Salomon* in calling these earthly matters Vanity, (if Vanity be taken in this second signification) insinuateth thus much; that there is nothing in all the greatest glories of this present worlde, but mere deceit and falsehood: they being empty of all those things whereof they seeme to be full, light in all those things wherein they seeme to be waighy, and treacherous in all those things, wherein they seeme to be friendly; so that they doe nothing but delude and abuse our weaker senses, with false and flattering shewes, of a certaine painted goodnes, that which indeed is not in them; and therefore those men which set their harts vpon them, and place their whole felicity in them, are as vaine and as foolish, as if they should make their felicitie of an empty bladder, which is *Vanum Vacuum*; or of a light feather, which is *Vanum ventosum*; or of a lying picture, which is *Vanum falsum*; all which were great points of ridiculous folly.

The third signification of this word Vanity is all one with *Frustra Vanum*, *quasi frustraneum*, which signifieth a thing that attaineth not his end. Hence some of the ancient and learnedst *Grammarians* define *Vanum* to be, *Quod fieri non potest*: they call that a vaine thing, which cannot be compassed; as if a man should indeuour with *Danaus* his daughters, to fill a sieue with water: or with the foolish *Romanes*, to reach vp vnto the heauens with their finger; it were a vaine attempt, because he cannot attaine his end. In this sense doth *Virgil* vse the name of Vanity, in the first of his *Aeneids*: *Ni frustra angurium vani docuere parentes*. Where he expoundeth *Vanum* (as you see) by *Frustra*. In this sense doth *Accius* likewise take the name of Vanity in the place that I cited before vnto you. *Tanta frustrando lactans*, & *va-*

Donat. in  
Eunuchum.

Virg. lib. I.  
Æneid.



Clavis scriptu-  
rar

Psal. 127. 1, 2.

Psal. 33. 17.

Psal. 60. 11.

2. Kin. 18. 21.

1. Cor. 15. 14.

*nam, proterabis vanans frustraudo.* In this sense also the Scriptures themselves vse the name of Vanity : for that which doth frustrate and disappoint vs of our end. *Eve* hoped when she had brought forth her first borne sonne *Caine*, that he had beene that promised seed which should breake the serpents head : but afterward perceiuing by his wicked life that he could not possibly be the man ; she seeing her selfe deceiued in her first sonne, she called her next sonne *Abel*, that is to say, Vanity : because her hope in his brother had not attained his end. The Prophet *Daniel* likewise in one of the *Psalmes*, vseth the name of Vanity three times together in this third signification: *Except the Lord build the house, the builder buildeth but in Vaine. Except the Lord keepe the city, the watchman watcheth but in Vaine. Except the Lord giue his blessing, the plowmans toying is in Vain;* that is, without the grace & blessing of God, neither the Carpenter in his building, nor the Watchman in his watching, nor the Plowman in his toying, can possibly attaine vnto his end: and therefore he calleth their indeauours Vaine. So againe in another place : *A horse is but a Vaine helpe to save a man.* And why is he but Vaine? the reason followeth in the very same place, *because he cannot deliuer any man by al his great strength.* That is, he cannot attaine his end in sauing of a man, and therefore he is said to be but a Vaine helpe. So againe in another place : *Helpe Lord, for Vaine is the helpe of man.* That is, mans helpe attaineth not his end, but is like vnto the rotten reede of *Egypt*, which pearceth the hand that leaneth vpon it, if (*helpe Lord*) be not ioyned with it. So likewise *Saint Paul*, *If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching in Vaine, and your faith, that is likewise in Vaine.* That is, they cannot attaine their end.

So that if Vanity be taken in this third signification, then the end of King *Salomon* in calling all things Vanity, is to insinuate thus much ; that no earthly thing can attaine vnto his end ; but that when a man hath euen tired himselfe

and wasted out his strength in hunting and pursuing after them, yet shall he neuer finde that end, nor that glorious good which he seeketh for in them, but shall (in the end) be driven to complaine, that he hath wasted & wearied himselfe in Vaine; as he himselfe professeth in the booke of Wisdome. Take himselfe for an example, how greatly he abounded with all the greatest glories that the earth could yeeld, Wisdome, Honour, Riches, Pleasure, & whatsoever worldly good the hart could desire: all which when hee had so fully attained, that hee was even glutted with them, yet could he no where find that end which he sought for in them, to wit, any settled contentment and comfort. and therefore first he was driven to shift and change his desire from one thing vnto another, being still wearied, but not satisfied nor contented with the fruition of them. And after, he finding them every one to be alike deceitfull, hee generally pronounceth of them al, without exception, that they haue nothing in them but Vanity and Vexation; as is largely declared in the second chapter of this booke.

Wisd. 5. 6, 7.

The fourth signification of this word Vanity, is all one with *Frayle* or *Murabile*; that is, *A thing fraile and weake, and of no firmnesse nor continuance*, and so *Vanum* is opposed to *Firmum* or *Constans*.

In this sense doth Tully vse the name of Vanity in his second booke *De natura Deorum*, *Nulla in celo Vanitas inest, sed contra summa ratio atque constantia*. He saith that there is no Vanity in the heauens, but contrariwise, all firmnesse and constancy. So that he maketh Vanity and constancy to be opposite and contrary. Hence the Latines vse *Vanescere*, and *Euanesce*, for a thing that quickly changeth, and cannot continue in his state. *In tenuem euannit aurum*, sayth Virgil. When a thing is easily dissipated (as smoke is into ayre) then doth it *Euanesce*, that is, turne into Vanity, in the Latine tongue, to wit, into this fraile and fleeting Vanity. And in the same sense doe we vse the word Vanish

Cic. lib. 2. de nat. deor.

Virgil. lib. 4. Æneid.

Iob 27. 12.

Psal. 144. 4.

Hier. in Eccle.

Iam. 4. 14.

Psal. 144. 4.

Iob. 6. 16, 17,  
18.

in our English tongue likewise when a thing is quickly dissipated, and passeth out of sight, then is it sayd to Vanish away; that is, to be turned into this fading Vanity. In this sense doth *Iob* vse this word in his booke, where he sayth of his fickle and deceitfull friends, that *They Vanish into Vanity*; noting thereby, their inconstancie, and referring the word Vanish vnto his true originall, from whence it is descended: to wit, onely from this Vanity. The Prophet *David* likewise vseth the very same word, in the very same sense: for he saith, that *Man is like to Vanity, because his daies Vanish like a shadow*. And all the old Translations (as Saint *Ierom* obserueth) except onely *The Septuagint* (to illustrate this Vanity by a liuely example, and to set the true nature of it, as it were before our eyes) in stead of, *All is Vanity*, they translate, *All is smoke*, because nothing vanisheth so quickly as smoke: it riseth vp very stately, as it were a tower, and it mounteth vp aloft, as if it would reach vnto the very heauens, and yet euery little blast of wind disperseth and driueth it away. This is the vnstable and fraile nature of Vanity, it is as weake as smoke: and therefore the Apostle *Iames* compareth the life of man, for the Vanity and the weakenes of it, vnto a Vapour or Smoke, which sodainely appeareth, but presently vanisheth. And the Prophet *David* (as you heard before) compareth it vnto a *Shadow*, which is lesse then Smoke: so that nature it selfe can hardly fit any paterne, or find any comparison, to expresse vnto the life, the fraile and fleeting nature of this vnstable Vanity.

Now Vanity (in this fourth sense) hath two branches, or degrees, the one of them a steppe vnto the other: the first of them is *Vanitas mutationis*: The Vanity of alteration; The second, is *Vanitas corruptionis*, The Vanity of corruption, or dissolution. Of the first of those Vanities, to wit, the Vanity of alteration, *Iob* speaketh in his booke, where he compareth the friendship of this present world, vnto

ice and snow, which with the least heat of the sunne, vanissheth away: that is, altereth and changeth into an other nature. Of the second degree or branch of this Vanity, to wit, the Vanity of corruption, the Apostle *Paul* speaketh in the Epistle to the Romans, where he pronounceth of all Gods visible creatures, that *They be subiect vnto Vanity*, that is, the Vanity of corruption, as he himselfe expoundeth it, in plaine and expresse words, for *Quicquid finem habet, Vanum est*: as *Primasius* glosseth vpon that place.

Rom. 8. 20, 21.

Primas. in cap.  
8. Rom.

So that if Vanity be taken in this fourth signification, (as *S. Ierome* thinks it is, who saith, vpon these wordes, that *Caducum quiddā in hoc verbo Vanitatis ostenditur*, that Vanity implieth a weaknes and fragilitie) then King *Salomons* meaning is, that all these earthly things are so fraile and so momentary, that they be as wauering as the wind: hauing no constancie, no firmnesse, no stabilitie in them, but are changed in a trice, as easily as smoke. And it is most true indeed, as we may euidently see in euery one of them, if particularly we doe looke into them. For what other thing is honour, but onely a light blast of the peoples breath, which vanissheth in a moment, as the sound of a tinckling Cymball in the ayre? What other thing is beauty, but the weake paint of a false colour, which with one shake of an ague is blasted, and so fadeth? What other thing are riches, but a heape of shining dust, which with euery blast of winde is pust away and perisheth? Finally, what thing is all *living flesh but only grasse*? (as the Prophet *Isai* teacheth,) and what all the glory of it, but the flower of the field? the grasse withereth, and the flower fadeth, if the breath of the Lord doe but blow vpon it, as it followeth in that place. So that no globe of smoke is more quickly dissipated; no blast of winde more quickly changed; then the weake vnstable nature of all earthly matters is.

momentary

Pro. 31. 30.  
Isa. 28. 4.

Pro. 23. 5.

Isai. 40. 6.

Yea, and though they had some stability in themselves, yet haue we no whit of stability in our selues, but euery day

and houre are subiect vnto Vanity, not onely to the Vanity of mutation, but also to the Vanity of corruption. So that though they could not be taken away from vs, yet may we in a moment be taken away from them, as *Belshazzar* was from the midst of his pleasure, euen whilest he was floting in his greatest iollity: and *Herod* likewise in the midst of his honour, euen whilest he was extolled with his greatest glorie: and the rich man likewise from the midst of his treasure, euen whilest he was saying, *Anima quiesce*. So that both in respect of their frailty and of ours, neither hath the rich man any cause to reioyce in his riches, nor the strong man in his strength, nor the wise man in his wisdom, nor any man in any thing, but onely in the Lord. For *Mundus transiit*, The world vanisheth away as it were a little smoke, with al the concupiscences of it: but God is alwayes, I am, he is euer the same, and in him is no change, as the Prophet *Malachi* noteth: no, not so much as a shadow of change, as the Apostle *Iames* addeth.

The consideration of this transitory Vanity of these earthly things, ought to worke in our hearts those same two good effects, which I mentioned in the beginning of this speech: first to loosen our affections from the world; And secondly, to knit them vnto God. The first of these two vses Saint *Hierom* maketh of it in his comment vpon this place: *Aspiciens elementa* (saith he) *& rerum multiplicem varietatem, admiror quidem operum magnitudinem: sed recogitant omnia haec transire, solumque Deum idem semper esse, cogor, non semel, sed bis exclamare, Vanitas Vanitatum!* When I consider (saith he) the heauens and the elements, and the wonderfull variety of creatures in them both; I stand almost astonished at the wonderfull variety and greatnes of the worke: but when I consider againe, that all those things are, but transitory, and that onely God himselfe hath stable perpetuity, then am I forced againe, (in as great a contempt of them) to cry out, not once but twice, O *Vanitas vanitatis*. He calleth them Vanity, because they

Dan. 5. 4, 5.

Act. 13. 32, 33

Luke 12. 30.

Ier. 9. 23, 24.

1. Iohn 2. 17.

Mal. 3. 6.

Iam. 1. 17.

Hier. in Eccl.



be transitory, and therefore of our loue thinketh them vtterly vnworthy. The second of those vses doth the Apostle *Peter* make in his second Epistle: *Seeing then* (saith he) *that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought we to be in godlines and holy conuersation of life, looking for, and hastning the day of Gods comming?* The consideration of the frailty and Vanity of all earthly things ought to make our affections to mount vp into heauen, and to settle themselves there vpon stable and eternall things: to wit, on God himselfe, in whom is no change, as you heard before. This is the right vse which we ought to make of considering the frailty of our earthly state.

The fifth signification of this word *Vanity* is all one with *Iniquity*; so that *Vanum* and *Iniquum* be (in this sense) *Synonyma*: a Vaine thing is nothing but a lewd and a wicked thing: In this sense doth *Pacuius* vse the name of *Vanity*, as *Nonnius* obserueth: *Ne tu turpassis Vanitudine atatem tuam.* *Turpassis Vanitudine*: See that thou defile not thy youth with *Vanity*: that is, with Wickednesse, as with lust and filthinesse, and such like vices; which (our Sauiour Christ telleth vs) doe defile the man. In this sense doe also the Scriptures vse the name of *Vanity*, as well as in the former: The Prophet *Danid* desireth the Lord to *turne away his eyes that they behold not Vanity*; that is, Wickednesse. And King *Abiam* calleth *Ieroboams* followers Vaine and wicked men. Vaine and wicked, expounding by the latter word what he meant by the former. And the holy Ghost calleth the sinnes of the *Gentiles* the *Vanity of the Gentiles*. And againe, *God knoweth the thoughts of men, that they be but Vaine*: that is, Wicked. For so it is expressly affirmed in the booke of *Genesis*: *All the imaginations of the thoughts of mans heart are onely euill continually.*

So that if *Vanity* bee taken in this fifth signification, King *Salomons* meaning is, that all earthly things bee not onely Vaine in all the forenamed kindes of *Vanity*, but

2 Pet. 3. 11, 12.

Mat. 5. 19, 20.

Psal. 119. 37.

2 Chro. 13. 7.

2 Kin. 17. 15.

Psal. 94. 11.

Gen. 6. 5.

also

Isai. 5. 18.

Luke 16. 9.  
1. Tim. 6. 10.*capiantur.*  
Cic. lib. de  
Senec.Aug. Sermon. 31.  
ad fratres in  
cremo.

also in this too ( which is worse then all therest ) that they be occasions and inducements vnto wicked Vanity. *They draw on iniquity with the care-ropes of their Vanity,* as the Prophet *Isai* teacheth vs. Hence riches are called wicked *Mammon*; because they bee occasions of wickednesse vnto vs. *They be the roote of all euil,* as the Apostle *Paul* teacheth vs. And the like may be said both of honour, of knowledge, of pleasure, & of all other worldly goods whatsoeuer. There is as it were a secret hooke conueyed closely into every one of them; *Quo homines Capiantur, tanquam hamo pisces;* as *Tully* obserueth out of *Plato*: whereby those men which chop greedily at the bait, are by & by taken with the hook, and so drawne on by the cordes of their Vanity, first vnto sinne, and then vnto misery: and therefore Saint *Augustine* in one of his Sermons, hauing entred the consideration of the dangerous and insidious nature of these earthly goods, he crieth out twenty times in detestation of them, *O munde immunde, fallax & proditor, qui homines illaqueare non desinis, quiescere non permittis:* O the Vanity and villany of this present euill world, which with one and the same breath, both flattereth & betraieth vs, neither suffering vs to sit stil, with out hir allurements, nor yet to escape the snares of hir punishments. So that (to gather all these significations of Vanity together) you now may see how vile the nature of it is. It is *Inutile*; it is *Fucatum*; it is *Inane*; it is *Falsum*; it is *Loue*; it is *Simulatum*; it is *Mendax*; it is *Frustraneum*; it is *Inconstans*; it is *Caducum*; it is *Iniquum*; and it is *Stultum*. These be the materiall partes of Vanity. Wherein you may plainly see, what King *Salomons* true censure is of all these worldly things, which seeine so specious vnto men: first, that they be altogether without all fruite and profit; which is the proper adiunct, or rather indeede the essentiall forme of Vanity. Secondly, that whereas they haue a shew of profit, yet is that nothing but euen a shew indeede; yea and that an emptie shew, a flatering shew, a lying shew.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, that if they could haue any profit in them, yet were it but a light profit, not worth the accounting of, because it neuer attaineth that end which it maketh shew of. Fourthly, that though all those things should attaine their end, yet could they not possibly retaine their end, they being so fraile and so brittle, that they be more easily broken then a bubble. Fifthly, that they doe not onely disappoint and defeat vs of their hoped end; but also they mislead vs to a wrong and a worse end: namely, to sinne and iniquity, the end of which is death and vtter misery. And thus all the greatest glories and good things of this world, be not onely *fallacia, quia dubia*: but also *insidiosa, quia dulcia*, as *Lactantius* truely noteth: *They be not onely deceitfull, because doubtfull, but also dangerfull, because delighfull.*

Now all these worldly things being thus many wayes Vanity, it followeth by a consequent of vnauoydable necessity, that if man doe stil set his heart vpon them, he himselfe should be Vanity in the sixth and last sense, that is, blind and foolish Vanity.

For in that sense sometimes do I find this word Vanity to be taken. In this sense doth *Salust* vse the name of Vanity in his *Iugurthine Warre*, expounding *Vanitas* to be *imperitia*: that is, Vnskilfulnes and Ignorance. In this sense also did that *Grammarians* take it, who contended with *Apollinaris* about it, as I noted before out of *A. Gellius*. Hee confidently maintained that *vanus* and *stolidus* were all one: that is, that a Vaineman is nothing but a foolish man. In this sense doe likewise the Scriptures themselues vse the name of Vanity. *Vaine man* (saith *Iob*) *would faine seeme to be wise*: that is, Foolish men doe affect an opinion of wisdom. Solikewise doth *Salomon* vse the same word: *He that followeth the Vaine, is voyd of understanding*. And solikewise doth *Saint Paul* vse it, interpreting Vanity to be nothing but *the darkenesse of understanding*. So that man if he set his heart vpon these Vaine and foolish things, which be intralld and

*Lactant. lib. de opific. dei. cap. i.*

*Salust. lib. de bello Iugur.*

*Iob 11. 12.*

*Pro. 12. 11.*

*Ephes. 4. 17. 18.*

Psal. 62. 9.

subiect vnto so many Vanities, then must needs hee himselfe be Vainer and foolisher then they: and so be *abogher lighter then Vanity is selfe*, as the Psalmist speaketh.

Thus haue I largely shewed what Vanity is, and what parts it hath: and that though it be a word of many significations, yet that there is not one good one amongst them all, as before I noted: but all of them implying, that that which is a Vaine thing, must needs be a vile thing: a false and a flattering, a fraile and a fleeting thing, and such a thing as hath no kind of good thing in it.

Let vs now see in a word (for the conclusion of this Sermon) why King Salomon hauing thus brought all earthly things into extreame contempt with vs; by calling them not Vaine, but euen Vanity, *in abstracto*, is not yet content with that, but calleth them still further, *The Vanity of Vanities*. For we must not thinke that euen this is done in Vaine. Of which point I find three differing opinions, which I will dispatch in three words.

The first is S. Hieroms, that this Vanity of Vanities is spoken onely *per exaggerationem*, by way of amplification, to note out the greatnes and the excellencie of their Vanity. For the Hebrewes, because they lacke the highest and superlatiue degree of comparison, they do vsually expresse it by ingemination & doubling of the positive: as *Dominus Dominantium*, The Lord of Lordes, for the greatest Lord; *Canticum Canticorum*, The song of songs for the excellentest song: *Seculum seculorum*, The worlde of worldes, for the world Eternall. And so *Vanitas vanitatum*, for the greatest and excellentest Vanity of all other. So that *Vanitas Vanitatum* goeth as farre beyond common Vanity, as *Canticum* beyond *Verbum*, and *Verbum* beyond *Silentium*: or *Seculum* beyond *Momentum*, and *Momentum* beyond *Nilitum*: as a learned Father noteth. Then the meaning of King Salomon in calling these earthly matters the Vanity of Vanities, is nothing else, (in S. Hieroms opinion) but to note out vn-

Hugo. de S.  
Victor. in  
Eccles.

to vs. *Magnitudinem Vanitatis*, the greatnes of their Vanity : and that they be of all other things the most excellent Vanity. For as the blackenes of blacke is the most excellent blacke, and the whitenesse of white is the most excellent white: so the Vanity of Vanities is the most excellent Vanity, as it were the sublimation and quintessence of Vanity; as if all the Vanities of the world should lay their heads together, to make but one peereles and excellent Vanity, that should be this *Vanitas Vanitatum*; and yet even that could not be Vainer then these earthly things be, as I haue formerly shewed. This is the first opinion.

Hier. in Ec-  
clen.

The second opinion is *Hugoes de Victore*, who thinketh, that this Vanity of Vanities, is rather spoken *per inculcatio- nem*, that is by way of repetition, to note vnto vs, not the magnitude, but the multitude of those deceitfull Vanities, which euery where lie hid in these earthly things. For in all these earthly glories which we thinke so goodly of, if we thoroughly would search and looke into them, we assuredly should find a whole nest of Vanities, (as it were of serpents) to lie lurking in them which lead vs, like brute beastes, from one Vanity to another: first drawing vs to iniquitie with the cart-ropes of their Vanity, and then vnto miserie, with the cart-ropes of their iniquity, as before Inoted. So that this *Vanitas Vanitatum* (in *Hugoes* opinion) doth *Omnem Vanitatem continere, quasi genus omnium generum*. This Vanity of Vanities is rather referred to the number and variety, then to the greatnes and quantitie of these earthly Vanities.

Hugo. de S.  
victor. in Ec-  
clen.

The third opinion is grounded vpon both the former, which I find in *Hago* too: to wit, that this patheticall ingemination of Vanity of Vanities, is yet rather spoken *Per admirationem*, by a way of wonder and admiration: that King *Salomon* considering, in the deepnes of his wisdom, both the magnitude and the multitude of these earthly Vanities, and yet, how greedily Vaine men pur-



sue & follow after them: *Admirans & stupens ait, Vanitas Vanitatum.* He crieth out as euen astonished with admiration, *O Vanity of Vanities*: that euer any man should be so grossly blinded, as to be deceiued by them. For this repetition and doubling of the word, as he noteth in that place, *Et rei magnitudinem, et admirationis significat nouitatem.* It noteth out vnto vs, both the wonderful greatnes, & the maruelous strangenes of that we wonder at. And surely though the prouerbe be, that *Sapiens nihil admiratur*: that he which is a wise mā will wonder at nothing; yet in this case, of the wonderful Vanity of the world, the wisest man is alwaies the greatest wonderer; when he considereth, *How vaine men walke in a Vaine shadow* (as the Psalmist speaketh) striuing with infinitelabor, vexation, & trouble, to get vnto themselves, a thing of nothing: which first they are vncertaine whether they can obtaine; and yet, by & by, most certaine that they can not long retaine, for the vnstable condition, both of it and of them selues. So that, though all other worldly things be no better then meere Vanity, yet man himselte (of all other things) is the greatest Vanity. He is a world of Vanities, yea a world of wicked Vanities, *Who drinketh vp iniquity, as a beast drinketh water*, as Iob noteth in his booke: yea he is indeed, this *Vanitas Vanitatum*: he is καὶ ἐξοχήν this Vanity of Vanities, which the Preacher here speaketh of: not one single Vanity (as other things be) but an vpheaped masse of many Vanities together. His cogitations, consultations, and contemplations, Vanity: his proiects, actions, and indeuors Vanity, his life Vanity, his death Vanity, nay Vanity of Vanities, as *Hierom* collecteth, *Si uir uis homo Vanitas est, certe mortuus homo, Vanitas Vanitatum est.* Finally, all the creatures of God (for his sake) be Vanity: and hee (amongst the creatures) is the greatest Vanity, whose beginning was with the Vanity of Mutability, in desiring to change and to alter his estate: whose continuing is in the Vanity of Iniquity, which (as you heard euen

now)

Psal. 39. 6.

Iob 15. 16.

Hier. in Ecclens.

Gen. 3. 6.  
Iob 15. 16.

now) he drinketh in like water; and, whose ending will bee with the Vanity of Mortality. For, the certaine wages of his sin shall be death. Thus drawe we (like to beasts) in the cordes of many Vanities; from our birth vnto our death: So that man (as I said) is not onely Vanity, but also *Vanity of Vanities*: that is, *vniversa Vanitas*, as the Psalmist calleth him: *Vniuersa vanitas omnia homo*. Man is an vniversal Vanity, & as it were a *Compendium* of al the Vanities of the world together: of the Vanity of Mortalitie in his body; of the Vanity of Iniquitie, in his soule: and of the Vanity of Mutability in them both. Yea and further to expresse the vnexpressible Vanity of man euery way, he saith (in an other place) that, *Man is altogether lighter then Vanity it selfe*: so that no Vanity can compare with the Vanity of Man; no lightnesse with his lightnes. If it should be demanded, what is lighter then wind, we might answere, that Vanity is: for so the Prophet *Isai* affirmeth in his prophecy. If it should be demanded, what is lighter thē Vanity, we might answere, that Man is: for so the prophet *Dauid* affirmeth in the *Psalme*. But if it should be demanded, what is lighter then Man; we must answer that Nothing is. For so the prophet *Isai* affirmeth in an other place, where he saith of Man, that *he is lesse then Nothing*; nay, Nothing is not lighter thē Man, but Man is lighter then Nothing. For, he is not only Vanity, which is as little as Nothing, but he is *Vanity of Vanities*, which is lesse then nothing. Thus pleaseth it the holy spirit of God, to humble the haughty & proud spirit of man, by making him the meaneft & vilest of al creatures: yea, as *vile as dust*, or *ashes*, as *Abraham* acknowledgeth: that so, he finding nothing of worth in himselfe, nor in any of those earthly things whereunto he addicth himselfe, he might be led by the hand, from all liking of himselfe, and of the things of this world, to bestow his loue on God, where it ought to bee placed: for this is the true end, whereunto this whole booke driueth, and this so often repetition of *Vanity of Vanities*, as *S. Augustine* truly noteth: *Non vniq; ob aliud, nisi vt eam vitam deside-*

Rom. 6. 13.

Isa. 5. 18.

Psal. 38. 5.

Psal. 62. 9.

Isa. 41. 29.

Isa. 40. 17.

Gen. 18. 27.

Aug. lib. 20.  
de ciuit. dei.  
cap. 3.

*runt, quia Vanitatem non habet sub hoc sole, sed veritatem sub illo  
qui fecit hunc solem.* Which the Lord grant vnto vs, for  
his deere Sonne our Sauio urs sake, to whom  
with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all  
honour and glory both now and  
for euer. Amen.

*The*



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*The second Sermon, at Canterbury,  
at the Lord Archbishops visitation.*

ECCLES. I. VER. 2.

*Vanity of Vanities, saith the Preacher, Vanity of  
Vanities, all is Vanity.*

**I** Haue (partly here, and partly elsewhere) vnfolded the whole substance of this present Scripture; yea, and that in many Sermons, as you may remember, deliuering in all of them such profitable doctrines, as I thought best befitted the nature of the hearers: which I purpose not at this time to rehearse againe vnto you, but onely to offer vnto your considerations, a modest defence of some speciall doctrines, which haue beene much traduced, as false and erroneous: that so, those questions which arise in the Church may peaceably be, both heard and determined, not in any blind and obscure conuention (as some of them haue beene) but, in a learned and a lawfull congregation.

For our fitter ingresse into which discourse, let me onely repeat thus much: That, the generall partes which I considered in this Scripture, were in number two: The *Author*,

and

Athenas. in

Synop.  
Plat. 9.3.Cic. lib. 2. de  
Nat. deor.

Athenas. in

Sabbath.

Tatianus.  
Euseb. lib. 4.  
Eccles. hist.  
cap. 27.

and the *Matter* of his *Doctor*, and this *Doctrine*. The *Author* is here called by the name of a *Preacher*, saith the *Preacher*: The *Master* is delivered in the forme of a censure; definitively pronouncing of all earthly glory, that it is indeede nothing but *Vanity of Vanity*.

In the *Author* of this doctrine I made this obseruation: that hee calleth not onely himselfe A *Preacher*, who spake this *Sermon* with his hiey voyce as *Athanasius* affirmeth; but he calleth this booke A *Preacher* too, though it haue neither voyce nor language, as the *Psalmist* speaketh. From whence I then collected these three positions, for the clearing of certaine truths, which haue beene greatly obscured, *Atramento Sepiarum*, as the *Orator* speaketh: by the writings of certaine troublers and disturbers of our peace.

First, that all the bookes of the Scriptures are *Preachers* vnto vs, which teach vs most plainly the way of *Saluation*; not onely when they bee expounded, but also when they are humbly and faithfully read. This position I then proued: first, by the authority of king *Salomon* in this place, who calleth this booke (as you see) A *Preacher*; which had beene an vnfit, & a misapplied title if the books themselves did not preach vnto vs.

Secondly, I proued it by the authority of S. *James* in the *Actes* of the *Apostles*, who calleth *Reading* expressly by the name of *Preaching*. *Moses* (saith hee) hath shewed that *Preach him in euery citie, seeing he is read euery sabbath day*. He saith that he is preached, because he is read: *Because* for euery *Beza* himselfe in his translation expresth that place by this causal, cōiunction *Quum, Because*. So that he which denieth the reading of the Scripture to be a preaching to vs, he denieth the authority both of the old and new *Testament*. For *Salomon* affirmeth it in the old, & *James* affirmeth it in the new: yea, & (as *Eusebius* noteth of the *Metaphrasis* of *Tatianus*) hee putteth the holy Ghost himselfe to schoole, and wil teach him how to speake more fitly & exactly, though



*Sus. Minervam.* For the holy Ghost, as you see, calleth a booke a Preacher: and hee calleth Reading Preaching, which certaine men amongst vs count an absurd kind of speaking: nay, a false and an erronous doctrine, blaspheming therein euen the Spirit of truth himselfe.

The second position which I deduced out of the former obseruation, in his calling a booke by the name of a Preacher, was this: that this Reading is not a faint or a feeble kind of Preaching (as some men affirme of it, who call bare reading but bare feeding) but it is a mighty and a powerfull kind of preaching; both sufficient, and efficient to beget in our hearts both faith and all other spiritual vertues: if wee rightly come prepared vnto the reading of them, and if God vouchsafe his blessing vnto our labours in them; two necessary conditions vnto our profitable reading: the first of them given by S. *Augustine*, the second by S. *Chrysostome*; yea, and both of them no lesse necessary in preaching, then in reading: without which it is no more in the Preachers power then it is in the Readers, to beget any good in the hearts of the hearers. But these two being granted, euen bare reading (as some scornfull spirits doe in derision terme it) may be as actiue a kind of preaching, and as operative of all true Christian vertues, as their most adorned or impassioned Sermons. This position I proued: first by the authority of the Prophet *Moses*, who ordained in the booke of *Deuteronomie*, that the booke of the Law should be read vnto the people: yea, and that vnto them all, men, women, and children: yea, and that euery time that they appeared before the Lord. Now to what end must all this reading be? yea, and reading so often of one and the same thing? He telleth vs in that place, that these three effects shal insue & follow of it: the knowledge of God, the feare of God, and the faithfull keeping of the commandements of God. All which notable effects (as there he noteth) the bare reading of the word shal effect

Cic. lib. 2.  
Acad.

Aug. lib. de  
vilit. credend.  
cap. 6.  
Chryl. hom.  
31. in Gen.

Deut. 32. 11,  
12.

and bring forth; yea, and that not onely in men of vnderstanding; but also euen in women and children: yea, and that not onely in the *Israelites*, but also in the Heathen and stranger that should heare it: Which point I pray you diligently to note: that euen bare reading is able of it selfe, not onely to nourish faith in the heart of the faithfull, but also to beget faith in the heart of the infidell, and such as before did neither know God nor his word.

Nehem. 8. 9.

Secondly, I proued the same position by the authority of *Ezra*, who found by his experience; the former prediction of *Moses* to be true: for when as he had but onely read the booke of the Law vnto the people; it was of so mighty & powerfull an operation, that it cast them all into mourning and weeping: yea, and that so excoessive, that he him selfe was constrained by a publique edict and commandement to restraine it. Now though in that place there be some mention made of exposition; and giuing the sense; yet note, I pray you; that this notable effect of their mourning is not there ascribed vnto the exposition, but onely to the reading; for it is said that it was the wordes of the Law which wrought this vehement passion, and not any glosse which was made vpon them.

1. King. 22.  
11, 19.

A like effect also did the bare reading of the Law produce in King *Iosiah*: it had so powerfull an operation in him, that it caused him to rend his clothes off from his backe, and his heart to melt away within him: and yet was there heere no exposition, but onely bare reading. The same points I yet further backed by the testimonies both of *Ieremie* and *Baruck*: The first of whom foretold as much as *Moses*; and the second found performed as much as *Ezra* in the bare reading of the word: for it made the people both to fast and to pray, and to weepe, and to giue almes vnto their needy brethren. Now what or whose preaching could haue wrought more worthy and noble effects than this bare reading did?

Ier. 36. 6, 7.

Baruck. 1. 3, 6.

Thirdly

Thirdly, I proued the same position by the testimony of *S. Iohn*, who ascribeth euen faith it selfe (which is the chiefe point in question) vnto this action of reading. *These things* (saith he) *are written, that ye should beleue.* Now, that which is written cannot make vs beleue, but onely by reading. Finally, I confirmed it by the testimonie of our Sauiour, in bidding vs *Search the Scriptures*, that is, to read it, and adding, that so *we should find eternal life in it.* So that, by the forecited Scriptures you see, that both *The knowledge of God*, and *The faith of God*, and *The feare of God*, and *The obedience of God*, and *Eternal life with God*, (which is the highest reward of all vertues) is expressly ascribed vnto the bare reading of the word. And therefore those men which deny reading to be an effectual kind of preaching, & disable it, frō begetting either faith, or any other spirituall vertue in vs, they make *Moses* and *Jeremie* two false prophets: *Nebemiah* and *Baruck*, two false historians: *S. Iohn* a false Apostle: and our Sauiour, a false Christ; for all these affirme it.

The third position which I gathered from the former obseruation, in calling a booke by the name of a *Preacher*, was this: That *Preaching is not alwayes more effectual then reading.* This position I then proued by two speciall instances: The first of them out of *Tully*; who found his vnderstanding (the first part of his minde) a great deale more instructed by reading a short letter, sent vnto him from *Atticus*, then it had bene by hearing a long discourse of *Curios*, vpon the selfe same points: wherupon he cried out, *ubi sunt, qui, & vbi sunt? where be they now* (saith he) who say the word spoken hath greater power in it, then hath the word written? He there confuteth that opinion, by his owne experience: *Quanto magis videri tuis literis, quanto ex illius sermone, quid ageretur?* The second instance was out of *S. Paul*: whose aduersarie found his affection, (the other part of the mind) a great deale more touched, by the bare reading of his letters

Iohn 20. 31.

*them.*  
Iohn 5. 39.  
in them.

Cic. lib. 3 ad  
Attic. Epist.  
12. *24E.*

1. Cor. 10. 10.

ingeniously

(which he plainly confessed, to be strong and mighty) then euer it had been, by the hearing of his Sermons, which he despised, as light, and things of no value. *His letters indeed (saith he) are fore and strong, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no value.* This is truly and ingeniously the summe of that doctrine, which heretofore I haue deliuered as concerning the comparison of *Reading and Preaching.*

In all which, what was spoken, that could giue the least offence, vnto any well meaning, or but indifferent mind? What that any way offended, either against any article of our Christian faith, or any duty of godly life: or, against any other point of sound and wholesome doctrine? Nay, what but iustified by the authoritie, both of the old and new Testament, and ratified by the testimonie of the holy ghost himselfe. Nay, yet further, what, but auouched for a sealed truth, by al true Protestants, against the Papists? who teach vs, that the Scripture is darke and obscure, and such as cannot preach vnto vs. With whom I did neuer looke that any of our men (professing themselves, to be such reformed and reforming Protestants) would euer haue ioyned hands as we evidently see (by the writings of some and the speeches of others) they apparantly doe. For, those three forenamed positions of mine, which (I am sure) would greatly haue offended the Papists, if they had bin my hearers, and beene censured of them as hereticall doctrines, haue likewise displeased some, that call themselves Protestants. Who haue (in their ignorance) traduced all those three former positions, both farre and neere, and howted them vp and downe, not onely as three false and erroneous doctrines: but also, as doctrines dangerous, and such as tend directly vnto the disgrace of preaching, and making it of none effect: though no word were spoken vnto any such purpose, no; nor yet, that could bee forced vnto any so badde a sense, vnlesse it were this one (which must bee done with a wrinch too) *that they which professe any pro-*

chers Sermon, either in excellencie, or in effecacie before the holy Scriptures, they preferre this word of a man, before the word of God: which I take to be no heresie, but an impregnable verity, and so I hope to make it to appeare most plainly to you.

And therefore, I must craue your Christian patience, that I may clere the former doctrines, from the two former imputations; especially, from that imputation of falsehood: which is the greatest infamie, if it be true, and the greatest iniurie, if it be false, that can possibly be cast vpon a Preacher: yea a farre greater iniurie, then to call him either a murderer, a theife, or a traitor. For to be a false teacher, is to be all these together; it is to be both a murderer of mens soules; a theife, vnto Christs fold: and a traitor to Gods honour. And therefore, Saint Hierom saith, that *Neminem docet in suspitione heresicos esse patientem*. That no man ought to be patient, when his doctrine is impeached. And Ruffine though his aduersarie in some other matters, yet in this agreeth with him; *That he which can indure the suspicion of an heretike, is impossible for him to be a true Catholicke*. And therefore, I must pray your licence, that by a modest and a Christian Apologie, I may vindicate these doctrines into their native verity: and not suffer such tried and approued truthe, to runne vp and downe, so branded for errors, but freely and sincerely to discharge that duty, which I owe both vnto God; and to his truth, and to the Church, and to my selfe. All whom I should betray into the handes of the wicked, if I should permit such innocent truthe to be any longer so scourged and whipped, as they haue lately beene, and not doe my best indeuour to rescue and deliuer them.

First therefore, as concerning those three positions which haue bin so mightily resisted; you are to know thus much: (which I doubt not, but the greatest part of this graue and learned auditors, being the flower of our Clergy, doth suf-

efficacie.  
the

Hier. Epist. ad  
Pammach.

auditory.



Breut. p. 10.  
pe. tertia.

in a

3. Pet. 1. 19.

Chrys. 10.

Chrys. hom.  
1. in Iohan.

Hom. 31. in  
Gen.

2. Cor. 4. 3.

Whitak.  
cont.  
Bellarm.  
quest. 4. de  
Script. cap. 4.

ficiently vnderstand) that there is none of them all which is any nouelty of mine owne inuention, but are all of them maine and beaten grounds of religion, expressly and positively set downe, by all our learned Protestants, in their disputations (vpon these pointes) against the Papists. Of which I wonder, that some of the reprovors of those doctrines, should be so vnlearned, as to be ignorant.

For first, whereas the Papists teach vs, that the Scriptures of themselves, are darke and obscure, & such as cannot teach vs, much lesse preach vnto vs, because they lacke a voyce; wherupon they call the Scripture, in a kind of derision, but *Mutum magistrum*, that is, a dumbe Teacher: we positively set downe both the contraries against them.

First, for their position. That the Scriptures in themselves are but darke and obscure, and such as cannot teach vs: we set downe this *Argument* against them, that *The Scripture is as cleere, and as bright as a light, which shineth in darkenes*, as the Apostle *Peter* teacheth vs: nay, as bright as the sunne beames, as Saint *Chrysostom* auoucheth; they being in themselves so facile and euident, that they are able to instruct even the simple and idiot, in all doctrine necessarie vnto their saluation: *Ad eo vt diuina scriptura opus non habeat humani sapientia, vt intelligatur*: as he writeth in another place.

So that (as the Apostle *Paul* affirmeth) *If the doctrine of the Gospel be hid vnto any, it is hid vnto such as perishe*. And this truth we proue against the Papists by many great and strong arguments, grounded partly vpon the authority of the holy Scriptures; partly vpon the concludencie of necessarie reasons: and partly vpon the testimonie of the ancient Fathers, being twenty fixe in number, as I find them collected by a learned Writer: and all of them most excellent, answering fully all obiections which are vsually brought, either by Papists or Schismatikes against those positions. Which because they are all of them most worthy your hearing, and yet the time will not now allow me

their

their speaking, I referre those that be learned vnto our mens disputation against *Bellarmines* fourth question vpon the Scriptures: where they shall evidently see, that there is no point of doctrine necessarie to saluation, but that it is most plainly and familiarly delivered in the Scripture, euen to the capacite of euery simple Reader, yea euen the simplest of all: *Etiā Publicanis, Piscatoribus, Fabris Pastori- bus, Illiteratis, & Idiotis* as *Saint Chrysostome* noteth. Vnto which his induction, *Saint Agostine* addeth his generall conclusion, *Nec in ceteris contrarium est videri*; though in somewhat other words, *Ut nemo sit (saith he) qui non legere non possit, quod sibi satis sit.* That for their false position,

Now for their frivollous reason, why the Scriptures cannot teach vs because they lacke a voyce, wee set downe this position: That the Scriptures haue not onely a liuely voyce in them, as birds and beasts haue; but also a speaking voyce too, as men and Angels haue, whereby they doe both teach vs, and preach vnto vs. And this wee proue by many sound reasons: whereof I will giue you a tast but onely of some one or two, because the Arguments be long and the time is short.

Our first argument is this: which (because I am now as it were in the Schole, and as in a Colonie of both the Vniuersities) I will conclude in Scholasticall forme. It is in effect thus much.

If the Scriptures instruct vs with a speaking voyce, then doe they likewise preach vnto vs: For what other thing is preaching but instructing with the voyce? But the Scriptures instruct vs with a speaking voyce: *Ergo*, They preach vnto vs.

The Assumption we proue by manifold texts of Scripture, where the Scripture is expressly affirmed to speake vnto vs. As namely in that place vnto the *Hebrewes*: *For the Law speaketh*; it speaketh as though they are vnder the Law where the Law is said to speake vnto vs: So likewise

Chriſt hom.  
3. de Lazaro.

Aug. lib. de  
Vili creden.  
cap. 6.

Rom. 3. 19.

Heb. 12. 5.

Rom. 4. 3.

in another place vnto the Hebrewes: Have ye forgotten the consolation which speaketh vnto you as vnto children: where the Proverbs of Solomon are said to speake vnto vs. For from thence is that testimony fetched. So likewise in another place vnto the Romanes: What saith the Scripture: where the Scripture in generall is said to speake vnto vs. And diuers other such like places there bee, alledged by our men against the Papists in discussing the fifth question vpon the Scriptures. Wherein we labour to proue it as a ground of our religion, against the Papists hereticall doctrine, that the Scriptures in themselves doe both speake and preach vnto vs.

Our second argument is this: That if the Scriptures do expound the Scriptures vnto vs, then do they also preach vnto vs. For what other thing is preaching, but expounding of the Scriptures? But the Scriptures expound the Scriptures vnto vs; Ergo, They preach vnto vs.

The assumption of this argument we proue by many arguments, euery one hauing the strength of a firme demonstration, and containing sufficient matter to furnish a whole Sermon: being all of them deduced, either from expresse Scriptures, or from necessarie reasons; or from the concurring iudgements of the ancient fathers. Yea, and (that you may perceiue how far a learned iudgement doth differ from an ignorant) that man of worthy memory M. D. *Whitaker* (whom for his godly labors against the Papists all posterity will reuerence) hee deliuereth his iudgement vpon this question in these words: which I pray you to marke diligently.

First he affirmeth, that God speaketh vnto vs as plainly in his word as euer hee spake vnto *Moses* in the cloude when he talked there with him face to face. Secondly, he affirmeth that the Scriptures doe preach so plainly and so excellently vnto vs, that if God should speake vnto vs from heauen in his owne liuely voyce, hee neither would

deliuer

Whitak. in  
Bellarm.  
quæst. 5. de  
Scrip. cap. 8.

deliuer any other matter, nor yet dispose it in any other forme then hee hath already deliuered in the Scripture. Thirdly hee affirmeth of the contrary opinion, that it is *& falsum, & impium*: That is, not only an erroneous but also an impious kinde of doctrine. And fourthly, he affirmeth of the defenders of it, that they be *& inepti & audaces*, that is, not only an ignorant, but also an impudent kinde of persons. This is his iudgement of the reprouers of my doctrine.

So that, for the first of my three positions: *That the Scriptures in themselves doe preach vnto vs*; you see that it is no such strange and vncouth monster, as some men (in the depenes of their ignorance) haue imagined it to be, preparing theselues with no lesse folly to fight against it, then the souldiers in *Pacinnus* did against a Snaille, which they thought to be some *Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens*, as the Poet speaketh; that is, some fierce and terrible monster, when they heard it thus described; *Animal terrigenum, tardigradum, Demiportum, sanguine cassum*. Thus ignorance and blindness, there saineth many monsters, where true and solid knowledge findeth none at all.

Virg. lib. 3.  
Æncid.

Cic. lib. 2. de  
Diuin.

But let vs now proceede vnto our second position: that *Reading is an effectfull and a powerfull kinde of Preaching*. For which point; whereas the Papists teach vs that the Scriptures as they be darke, and cannot teach vs, so they be weake and cannot moue vs; whereupon they call the Scripture but *literam frigidam*, and *ogenum elementum*; that is, a weake and beggerly rudiment: we positively set down these *Theses* to the contrary: First, for the plainenes and perspicuity of the Scripture: that *Deus nobis in Scripturis plainissime loquitur*: that God speaketh vnto vs most plainly in the Scriptures, which is *Iowels* position in his Apologie. Secondly, for the power and efficacie of the Scripture, that *Sacra scriptura, vel cum legitur, vel cum auditur, est ordinarium organon, quo spiritus sanctus mentes lectorum & auditorum rege-*

*legitur..*

*nerat illustrat, vivificat, & celestibus virginitatibus ornat.* What can there be more plaine, or more full, or more direct vnto our purpose? And this is the categoricalall position of *Bremius* in his learned disputation (vpon this point) against *Sotus*: hee expressely affirmeth, that the very Scriptures; not onely when they be Preached vnto vs, but also when they be but onely Read by vs, are an ordinarie meanes to regenerate mens soules, to inlighten them, to quicken them, and to beget all heauenly vertues in them; and all this it effecteth, *Vel cum legitur*, when it is but onely Read. Wordes of great force and great power, and such as proue the Scriptures to be neither dumbe, nor yet dull teachers, but indeed most powerfull, and mouing Preachers.

For prooffe whereof (amongst other arguments) we vse these Scriptures following. First, that place of the Psalmc, where the Prophet *David* ascribeth vnto the word of God, not onely to bee able to inlighten the minde and vnderstanding, but also to worke vpon the hart and affection. He saith that it is able, both to *give light vnto the eyes, and wisdom to the simple*: yea and further to *comfort the hart*, yea and *euen to conuert the soule*. What can there be more, either performed by the Preacher, or desired by the hearer, then here you see most plainly ascribed to the Scripture?

Secondly, we alledge that place of the prophet *Jeremie*, where he compareth the worde of God vnto a fire and a hammer, which is able to *breake euen the strong rocke a funder*, and (as *John the Baptist* speaketh) *euen out of very stones to raise vp children vnto Abraham*. I trow, it must haue no final strength and power in it, that is able to cleaue and to breake a stony rocke.

Thirdly, we alledge that place of the Epistle vnto the *Hebrewes*: *The word of God is lively and powerful in operation, and sharper then any two edged sword, that is piercing euen to the diuiding of the soule and the spirit, the ioynts and the marrow, and is able to discorne, euen the very inward thoughts and intentions of the*

*legitur.  
et fortis.*

*Psal. 19. 7, 8.*

*Ier. 23. 29.  
fomes.*

*Mat. 3. 9.*

*Heb. 4. 12.*

*beat.*



bears. A notable place indeed, and which evidently sheweth, that the Scripture is not either a dumbe teacher, nor yet a dull worker, but a mighty and a potent preacher, euen to the very hart of men.

Neither be these places to be vnderstood of the worde *Preached* onely, (the onely euasion of our ignorant aduersaries) but of the word *Read* also. For to that onely end they be alleaged by vs Protestants against the Papists, and otherwise they should be alledged beside the purpose. The question being betweene vs, not of the Preaching of the Scripture, but of the Reading of them: of the natue and inherent perspicuity of the Scripture, and not of that accidental light, which is brought vnto them by our expositions: as they that be learned and conuersant in the controversies, doe right well vnderstand.

Let vs therfore now proceed vnto our third positio, which was thought the greatest monster: that *Preaching is not alwaies more powerful then Reading*. For that point, let me giue you but onely this one watchword: that it is knowne to be a notable Art and cunning of the Papists, to ioine vnto their former disgraces of Reading, an excessiue and hyperbolical commendation of Preaching: that so, they hauing weaned the people from the reading of the Scripture, whereby their errors might bee discovered, and brought them on wholly to depend vpon their Sermons, and as it were to hang vpon their lippes, that their *Ipsè dixit* might passe for demonstrations, they might so leade them more easily (as it were hooded and blindfold) into all kind of errors. I pray God it bee not also the drift of some others, that would seeme to be farre unlike vnto the Papists. But to returne vnto our question.

Whereas *Petrus a Sata*, a notable Papist, setteth downe the whole summe of papistical doctrine, as concerning the comparison of Reading and Preaching, in this short position: that *Prædicatio vincit, sicut superat scripturam mortuam*,

that, *Linely Preaching* is farre more excellent, then is dead *Reading*: that position doth *Bremius*, a very learned Protestant, confute and refell, as a popish error, in his *Defence of the Confession of Christopher*, Duke of *Wittenberge*, where hee handleth this point both fully & substantially, both largely and learnedly censuring this forenamed position of *Sotus*, to be a contumely and reproch, not only against the holy Scriptures, but also against our Sauour Christ himselfe. Againe, whereas *Hossius* an other papist affirmeth vnto the same effect, that the *Scriptures* are but bare and naked elements, but *Preaching* is indeede the linely word of God: that position doth *Iewel* (the iewel of our Church) most earnestly confute in his learned Apologie; affirming it to be a speech (in effect) as blasphemous, as the horrible heresie of *Adrianus*, who presumptuously vaunted of himselfe, that hee could *speake better then the holy ghost himselfe*: which is indeed both a true and a wise censure of it. For what is it els, to prefer our Sermons before the holy Scriptures, but to prefer mens speeches before the holy ghost? Therefore, this doctrine of the Papist, the Protestants confute, by many strong reasons: which proue vnto vs plainely, that the Scriptures of themselves are both in Teaching and in Meaning, of farre greater power, then any mans expositions, how artificiall soeuer. I will giue you but a taste of some one or two of our mens reasons, and so passe on to the second of their scruples.

First therefore, for the first point, that the Scriptures haue in themselves, a greater power to teach and instruct vs, then any preachers Sermons, *Lusber* proueth it by this reason. *Because all Preachers and expounders of the Scriptures doe prone their expositions to bee true by Scriptures*. But euery prooffe must be a *Notiori*, as those that be learned know. *Ergo*, the Scriptures be *Notiores*, that is to say, *More known and more plaine*, then any *Preachers expositions*. This is *Luthers* opinion, confirmed with his reason, which the learnedest

on

Hossius.

Mouing.

on our side haue allowed for a good one: yea, and doe vse the same themselues against the Papists.

Now secondly, for the second point, that *The Scriptures haue also greater power to mooue vs, then any Preacher Sermons:* that most graue and learned father *Brentius*, (for so it pleaseth Bishop *Jewel* to honour him, yea and very worthily too, for his great learning and wisdome) he, not onely affirmeth it, as his opinion, but also confirmeth it by good and sound reason: and he citeth for this purpose, that saying of our Saviour; *He that will not harken vnto Moses and the Prophets, he will neuer be perswaded, though a man should be raysed from the dead to speake vnto him.* Which is a notable place indeede, for the power and efficacie of the written word, and such, as euidently proueth, that he which will not be moued with the reading of the Scriptures, he will neuer be reclaimed by hearing any Sermons, bethey neuer so patheticall, neuer so effectuell. Which our Sauour Christ himselfe doth likewise acknowledge in plaine and expresse words: *If you beleene not Moses writings (saith he) how will ye beleene my words?* So that euen he himselfe ascribeth greater power of working faith in our hearts vnto the written Scriptures, then vnto his owne most liuely and excellent Sermons: though it be affirmed of him, that *never did any man speake as he spake.*

Thus as concerning those three forenamed positions, which were thought by some to bee such great nouelties, you se that there is nothing in the at all contained, but that which is both said and proued by vs Protestants, and gain-said by none, but either Papists, or Schismatikes: and therefore I hauing now obtained a fit opportunity (which hitherto I lacked) for the deciding of these questions before competent Iudges, I thought good to permit them vnto your graue and learned censures; and so in peace to dis-misse their reprouers: For whom I doubt not, but I may truely pray, as our Sauour Christ doth for his persecutours.

Defect. Apol.  
p. 520.

Luke 16. 31.

Iohn 5. 47.

Iohn 7. 46.

them

Luke 23:34

2.King.6.19.

seducing

O father forgive them, for they know not what they doe: they all of them being no better then ignorant and blinde guides, which lead you after them like blind followers into the very ditch: I speake of the lay part of this auditory. For as once the prophet *Elizeus*, when hee saw that the *Aramites* were smitten with blindnes, came vnto them and told them that *they were out of the way*, and so made them follow him out of the way indeed, vntill he had brought them into the middest of their enemies: so certaine of your false and seduced prophets, perceiuing your blindnes in such questions as these, haue likewise told you, that you are out of the way, and so inticed you to follow them, vntill (as you now see) they haue at last brought you into the tents of the Papists, and there they leaue you: which may bee a good caueat for you to take heed what maner of men you follow as your guides hereafter, lest, whilest you thinke they lead you into the gates of *Sion*, they lead you indeed (through their ignorance and blindnes) into the gates of *Babylon*, as you see that these haue done.

But let vs now proceede vnto the second of their scruples: *That this doctrine tenderb greatly vnto disgrace of Preaching, and making it of none effect: because I. preferre reading, in calling it the worde of God, and make preaching to bee but the word of man.* Forso it hath pleased some men to collect, though without all due consequent. For if any man doe construe my commendation of Reading to bee a disgrace of Preaching, he may by the same reason (or rather lacke of reason) condemne of the same fault, euen the Apostles themselves. The Apostle *Paul* compareth Faith and Hope, and Charity together, and he preferreth Charity before both the other: shall we therefore affirme, that he disgraceth both Faith and Hope? or that he maketh either of them vnecessary for a Christian? God forbid. To come a little neerer vnto our owne question: the Apostle *Iames* biddeth vs, that *If any man lacke wisdom, hee shall aske it of God,*

1. Cor. 13. 13.

Whereby

Whereby he implieth that spirituall wisdom may be attained by prayings. Shall we therefore say that *S. Iames* disableth Preaching, & maketh it vnecessary to the attaining of wisdom? Nay, (to come home vnto the very point of our question) the Apostle *Iohn* telleth vs that we need not that any man should teach vs any thing, because the holy ghost himselfe doth teach vs all things. This cometh very neere vnto that which they reprove. And yet (as I think) there is no man so gracelesse, as from hence to collect, that *S. Iohn* disgraceth Preaching, or maketh it vnneedful vnto our saluation: yet may that be wrested out of the words of *S. Iohn* with a great deale lesse violence then it could be out of mine. *S. Chrysostome* hath a notable place to this purpose, wherein he perstringeth the folly of those phantastical persons, which wil neuer come to the Church, but onely to heare Sermons, telling them plainly, that if they would bee such Readers as they ought, they shoulde not stande in neede of any Preachers at all. I will set downe his words, because they be most pregnant, and deliuer most plainly his resolute iudgement. *Ad quid, inquis, ingredior (saith he in the person of those conceited auditors) nisi aliquos Sermones audire?* What should I doe at Church (say they) if there be no man there to preach? There is their objection. Now heare his answer to them. *Istud omnia perdidit & corrupit: This is that (saith he) which hath marred & spoiled all. Quid enim opus est concionatore? Per nostram negligentiam nonne sufficit ista facta esse?* [Have ye not neede of a reader saith he] for of reading he speaketh in that place. Nay, there is in it no more neede of a Preacher, It is but only our negligence in reading, which maketh vs (as much as stand in neede of Preaching. Why for? He addeth in that place: *Omnia clara sunt & plana ex Scriptura. Quae cumque non essent scripta, manifesta sunt. Sed quia delicatissimi sunt auditores, delictum autem nem audiendo venantes, propterea & ista quaeritis.* All things (saith he) are open and easie in the Scripture, and whatsoever is necessary vnto saluation, the same is euident and plaine. But because we are

praying  
1. Iam. 1. 5.

1. Iohn 3. 27

Chrysostom.  
3. in 2. Thess.



wanton and delicate hearers, hunting onely after pleasure and delight in our hearing, that is it which maketh vs runne so fast after Preaching. Heere is Chrysostomes iudgement as concerning Reading and Preaching, wherein hee goeth very farre in aduancing of Reading, & yet hath no purpose to depreesse or disgrace preaching, which no man vsed more diligently.

These things haue I noted to rectifie the errour of such malignant interpreters, and to exemplifie vnto the simpler hearted hearers, that spirituall things may be compared together, without any wrong or disgrace vnto either, yea, euen then when as one is preferred before another. Because (as Tertulian very aptly distinguisheth vnto our present purpose) *Non praeferrimus ut malo bonum, sed ut bono melius. Wee doe not preferre ibem as a good thing before an euill, but as a better thing before a good.* And it is a rule of Rhetorike (yea and of reason too) as concerning such comparisons, that *Non necesse est, in rebus comparandis, ut alteram vituperes, si alteram laudes*: and therefore as S. Hierom reasoneth against Iouinian: *Nunquid argentum non erit argentum, si aurum argenteo pretiosius dicatur? Is therefore silver made no silver, if a man chance to say that gold is better?* So may I likewise reason in this our present question: *Is therefore Preaching made no preaching, if in some points it be surpassed by Reading?* Or must Preaching of necessity be disgraced, if Reading in any respect be preferred? Hee must needs be a man of a deplored blindnes, vnto whom things so distant doe seeme to haue coherence.

Tertul. lib. 1.  
cont. Marci  
cap. 39.  
*praeferrimus*

Cic. lib. 2. ad  
Heren.

Hier. lib. 1.  
cont. Iouin.

*Reading*

Then why should my commendation of reading, which I gaue, both according to the holy Scriptures, and to the ancient fathers, and to the professed doctrine of all true Protestants, be rather accounted a disgrace of Preaching, then their excessiue commendation of Preaching be accounted for a disgrace vnto reading? or vnto praying, both which they haue iustled out of the Church by their Preaching, to vse *Carewrights* owne wordes. This forsooth is

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the matter: that in comparing a Sermon with the Scripture, I called Preaching but, The word of a man; which they confidently hold to be truly and properly the very word of God: and resolutely affirme that it ought to find the same credit and authority with all men. A very vntrue and an vnfound position, that I say no more of it.

And therefore I pray so much equity of you that be vnlearned (which I doubt not to obtaine of those that be learned) that that which shall be spoken against this false opinion, may not be so peruerued as if it were spoken simply against all Preaching: which euery good Christian must of necessity confesse to be a necessary duty in the Church of God, and a powerfull instrument to draw mens soules vnto him. But yet for all that, as Preaching may bee too much depressed, so may it be likewise too much aduanced, euen to the dishonour of God himselfe, whose owne worke it is. For as *Iob* noteth in his booke; that *a man may speake wickedly euen in defense of God*, so may a man speake wickedly euen in defence of Preaching. Which surely is then done, when we make our owne sermons (which are but mens inuentions) to equall in authority Gods diuine and holy Scripture.

*Iob 13 7.*

And therefore that you may the better perceiue the monstrous absurdities of this foolish opinion, giue me leaue I pray you (in a word or two) to set before your eyes that strange kind of doctrine, which these men haue deliuered, as concerning Preaching: for so you shall a great deale more easily discern whether such kind of Preaching be the word of God or no.

First, they openly denie that the Reading of Gods word is a Preaching of it: because this lacketh exposition. And yet *S. Iames* telleth vs, that *Moses is Preached, whensoever he is Read; euen without exposition*. In which onely instance of Reading the Scripture, Preaching may truly and properly be called *The word of God*. But yet this Reading though

*A. 15. 21.*

*be*

D. Whit-  
gift. P. 579.

Ier. 36. 7. 8.

Aug. lib. 4. de  
doct. Christ.  
cap. 29.

it be of all other (in this one respect) the most diuine and authenticall kind of Preaching, because it deliuereth the word of God, most simply and sincerely in his owne proper forme; without either any mixture of humane inuention, or any tainture of humane corruption: yet this do they first of all, and most of all cast away from being Preaching, and call this no better then playing vpon a Stage. They be the very words of some of our chiefe reformers; though I know there be many which will hardly beleeeue that so leaud and prophane a comparison, should euer proceede out of the mouth of a Christian, especially of so purified and refined Christians as they would seeme to be.

Secondly, they exclude from Preaching, all those discourses which are made by any other persons then onely by our selues. Whether it be by way of explication of a text, as the Comments and Sermons of diuers great Diuines, both ancient and recent: or by way of Common place, without any certaine text: as the Homilies of our Church, which be indeede most learned and most godly Sermons, howsoever disgraced by those scornefull spirits, which spare not (as you see) the word of God it selfe, but blasphemously compare the Reading of it, vnto the playing vpon a Stage. But yet neither of these kindes doe they allow for Preaching, because they be not of our owne, but of another mans making. And yet *Barn* was commaunded by the Prophet *Jeremie* to Read his prophecy vnto the people; that is, to Read a Sermon of another mans making: and was told that it should worke an excellent effect in them, as it did in very deed, as before I haue shewed. But yet this will not those men allow for Preaching, though Saint *Augustine* doth, yea & sheweth great vse of it in the Church of God. Whereupon there doeth follow this euident absurditie, which I pray you well to marke: That if a simple and vnlearned Minister shall happily meete with a most learned Sermon of another mans (namely *Caluine* or *Beza*) and so

shall

shall rehearse it vnto the people, that must not be counted Preaching, because it is not his owne; but his own is Preaching, because it is his owne; be it neuer so vnlearned, neuer so confused.

Thirdly, they reiect from Preaching, euen these Sermons that be our owne, vnder two conditions: First, if they be read out of a paper, as the weaknes of some mens memories compelleth them to doe, who yet may be profitable members in the Church of God. But this (with them) is no preaching, though it be our owne inuention: and yet *Baruk* did read, not onely the Prophet *Ieremies*, but also his owne Sermon too, *Out of a paper*, vnto the people, as he professeth of himselfe: yea, and he found that his Reading to be an effectuell kind of Preaching; though it were, *Out of a paper*. For it caused both Prince and People, *both to fast, and to pray, and to weepe before the Lord*. As likewise did the reading of the law (euen *Out of a paper*) vnto King *Iosias*, as you heard before.

Againe, euen our owne proper Sermons they reiect from being Preachings, if euer they haue beene Preached before, though in an other place, and to an other audience. And yet Saint *Paul* confesseth vnto the *Philippians*, that *He was not ashamed to speake the same things diuers times vnto them*; adding, that *for them it was a sound way of instruction*. Thus you see how great a chaine of errors this one opinion hath linked together: and all of them, *Ex diametro*, opposed to the Scripture. Reading of the Scripture is no Preaching, because it lacketh exposition: Expositions of either the ancient fathers, or moderne writers they be not Preaching, because they be not of our owne making: Our owne Sermons be no Preachings, if we speake them not by heart: Nay, though we so rehearse them, yet be they no Preachings if euer they haue beene Preached before.

So that now you see what maner of Preaching that is, which must be counted equall vnto the word of God; and

Ier. 36. 8.

Baruk 1. 5.

2. Kings 22.

11. 9.

Philip. 3. 1.

may not, without blasphemie be called *The word of man*. It must onely be our owne, be we neuer so ignorant: it must be none other mans, be he neuer so learned: and it must be our owne, not by ordinary course of reading attained, either from old or new writers; neither yet, by often iteration decocted; but (in a sort) after the Anabaptistical manner, both sodainely infused, and effused. This is, (with those men) that noble and that worthy kind of Preaching, which must, in credit and authority, equall the holy Scriptures, in power and perspicuity farre excell them. A very blind and a bad kind of doctrine.

For these great inconueniences must needs insue of it: First, if our Sermons be truly and properly the worde of God (as they comonly affirme) it will from thence follow, that the Preacher in his Sermons cannot erre. For, *The word of God can not erre*. And so, we who haue taught all this while, that the Fathers can erre, the Pope can erre, the Councels can erre, shall now teach, with the selfe same mouth that *We our selues cannot erre*. Which were both an impudent and an impious assertion. For what is that which can priuiledge vs from error in our Preaching? The Chaire of *Moses* could not priuiledge the Pharises from error: the Chaire of *Peter* cannot priuiledge the Pope from error: the earthly Paradise could not priuiledge the first man from error: nay Heauen it selfe could not priuiledge the Angelles from error; and can onely the Pulpit priuiledge vs from error? Is not Papistry Preached? is not Heresie Preached? is not Schisme, and contention, and all error Preached? doe not all these find Pulpits, to vent themselves out of? Why then it is apparent, that a Sermon may not onely bee the word of a man, but also sometimes the word of a wicked and vngodly man; the word of a Schismaticke, the word of a Papist, the word of an Heretike. For as *Gregory* truly teacheth vs: *Si desit spiritus, nihil adiuuat locus*: It is not the place can helpe vs, if the spirit be not with vs.

Greg. hom.  
9. in Ezech.

Secondly,



Secondly, if Preaching be truely and properly the word of God, as they affirme, it will from thence follow, that all our glosses must needes be canonicall Scriptures. For the word of God is canonicall Scripture: and so wee who haue taught, all the expositions of the Fathers, to be but the bare opinions of men, shall foolishly now teach of our owne expositions, that they be the very word of God: which is to set the Preacher not vp in *Moses* chaire, but to plucke downe God himselte, and to set him vp in Gods chaire.

Thirdly, if Preaching be truely the word of God, as they affirme, then if I expound the Scripture one way, and another man an other way, both these must bee taken for canonicall senses, and both be true meanings of the word of God: though the one of them should be cleane contrary vnto the other, as they be but too too often. And so, euen we our selues should make the holy Scriptures, to be indeed no better then a very nose of waxe, to be bowed euer way, though we bitterly and worthily reprove it in the Papists.

Fourthly, if Preaching be the very word of God, and the sole ordinary meanes to beget a true faith in vs, as they affirme; then will it from thence follow, that the Scriptures of themselues, are not sufficient to saluation; but as the Papists adde vnto them their apocryphal and vnwritten traditions; so we must adde vnto them our vocal and speaking expositions, to make them perfect. These and diuers such like false & dangerous consequents must necessarily follow that phantastical doctrine, that *Preaching is properly the very word of God*: of which I may truely say (with *S. Augustine*) *Pi- get me iā dicere, quān multa es insana sequamur, talia sentientes, talia docentes*. A new and a strange opinion, which only doth proceede from humaine pride and ignorance, and from an arrogant conceit, of men which dote vpon their owne giftes.

Aug. lib. 4.  
cont. Iu-  
lian. Pe-  
lag. cap. 3.

Why? is not all this enough which we ascribe vnto Sermons, when we acknowledge them to be Gods owne holy institutions: to be necessarie meanes of our instruction; and powerfull meanes of our conuersion: to be truthe, which ought of all men to be accepted and honored: when they consent and agree with the holy word of God? Is not all this (I say) enough, which we lawfully may, & willingly do ascribe to Sermons, but that we must needs make them the very word of God it selfe? The Apostle *S. Paul*, though he spake all by Gods owne holy inspiration, yet doth hee twice professe in one and the same Chapter, that *This hee speaketh, and not the Lord*. He is very well content (though hee were an Apostle) that where he lacke the warrant of the expresse word of God, that part of his writing should be held and esteemed but as the word of a man. But some men now adays, are so farre inamored of themselves, and so vainely conceited of their owne gift in Preaching, as to obtrude all the idle fancies of their owne addle heads, vnder none other title, but the *very word of God: Purum purum*, flat contrary to the doctrine of *S. Paul* in another place, who telleth vs expressly, that a Preacher may take for the foundation of his Sermon, *The very word of God*: and yet, build vpon it, as well *Clay and Stubble*, as *Gold and Silver*. But these men do tell vs (if we will beleue them) that they do build nothing but only pure gold. Belike they would faine haue vs to take all for gold that glitters.

Beloued, though we ought (in all true sincerity) to giue all due honour and reuerence vnto Sermons, when they be truly made according to Gods word, yet must we alwaies put this difference betweene Sermons and Scriptures; The Scriptures we must know, to bee Gods owne diuine and holy word, containing nothing but pure and tried truthe, being all of them writ and penned by Gods holy spirit: and by him so commended vnto his holy Church: and therefore of all the true members of the Church, to be reuerently

accepted,

1. Cor. 7.

12. 35.  
lacked.

1. Cor. 3. 12.

2. Tim. 3. 16.

Psal. 12. 6.

2. Pet. 1. 21.

accepted, without all exception. But for Sermons, we have another rule and direction: we must in them, both examine the spirit of every speaker, & exact the matter of every speech vnto the strict rule of the scripture: as the Bereans dealt euen with the Apostle Paul himselfe. So that Sermons ought to haue no greater credite with vs, then they can gaine vnto themselues by their agreement with the Scriptures: if they dissent from them, no pulpit can sanctifie them, no spirit can make them to bee the word of God: if they consent with them, yet (the Canon of the Scripture being now sealed vp) the Truth of God, or the Doctrine of God, they may be called: but The word of God they cannot, but onely by some Metonymie, or Synecdoche, or some other such vnproper and figuratiue speech.

Therefore, it is as true a position, to say, that a Sermon is the word of a man, as it is to say, that a House is the worke of a man. For as in building, though both timber, and stone, and iron, and lome, and all other the materials be the workes of God, yet the house it selfe (in respect of the forme) may both truly and fitly bee called The worke of a man: so is it also euen in Preaching too (which the Apostle Paul calleth a Spiritual kinde of building) though both the Sentences and Testimonies, and Similies, and Examples, yea and Positions too, be the very word of God; yet the positure and placing of those things so together, and the disposing of them in this and that order, and so consequently the whole frame and structure of that speech which we call a Sermon, that is truly and properly the worke of a man. The Invention is mans; the Disposition mans; the Elocution mans; the Action mans; the Application, and Allusion mans: and the ioyning of all those things together, in one artificiall body (which giueth to the whole speech the name of a Sermon) that likewise is mans. And therefore as Chrysostome affirmeth of Reading, that *Lectio est legentis actio*: so may we likewise affirme of Preaching, that *Predicatio est Prædi-*

1. Iohn. 4. 1.

Act. 17. 11.

Gal. 1. 8.

1. Cor. 3. 10.

Chrys. hom.  
7. in 2. Cor.

cantis

iudgment.

*cantis actio*: as Reading is the action and worke of the Reader, though the thing which is Read be the word of God: so Preaching is the action and worke of the Preacher, though the thing which is Preached be the trueth of God.

Which argument howsoever it may distaste the eares of some ignorants which are without iudgement, yet must it needes seeme very milde and gentle, euen to the reprobours, if it be compared with some of those speeches which haue beene deliuered by some of their owne chiefest authors. For *Cartwright* in his answer vnto the preface of the *Rhemists*, hee calleth the very translation of the Testament but the word of a man: as though all the Scriptures which continue not in their originall languages, did presently cease to be the word of God, & immediately become but the word of a man. This is harsh indeed, to call the Gospel it selfe but the word of a man, when it is translated. We goe not so farre by many degrees (and God forbid we should) we call but those glosses and expositions which are made vpon it, The word of a man, which is a farre more tempered and qualified speech.

Which censure notwithstanding, lest any wicked hearer should wrest and peruert vnto the despising of Preaching, as some haue done the like vnto the despising of Reading; let him vnderstand thus much: that when we call a Sermon the word of a man, we take not the word of a man in the worst sense: as *S. Bernard* doth; who writeth thus of it: *Res vilis & volatilis est verbum hominis, nullius ponderis, nullius pretij, nullius soliditatis*: The word of a man is a thing vile & vanishing, of no weight, of no worth, of no estimation. In this sense we take not the word of a man, for so it is in a kind of contrariety vnto the word of God, as appeareth by those titles which the Prophet *David* giueth it in the nineteenth Psalm. But when we call a Sermon the word of a man, we take it not by way of opposition to the word of God: but by way of distinction from the worde of God. A

Bern. serm.  
2. in Solen.  
Pet. & Paul.

Sermon

Sermon is the word of a man, not opposed, but supposed vnto the word of God.

Which distinction I pray you diligently to marke: for in that onely consisteth the whole resolution of this knotty question: That a Sermon rightly made is the word of a man, not opposed vnto the word of God, but distinguished from the word of God. A Sermon is not so the word of God as the text it selfe is, but a discourse framed vpon it by the wit of man.

Which action notwithstanding, (lest any wicked spirit should draw it into contempt) we acknowledge it (as I said before) to be Gods owne holy institution, & one principal meanes of procuring mans saluation; as likewise is Reading, Meditation, and Praying, which are no lesse to be practised, though in many places they bee too much neglected. We further confesse, that though in outward forme it differ from Gods word, yet in substance of matter it agreeth with it, if it be rightly made, and that therefore though it bee not (in propriety of speech) the word of God it selfe: yet because it is a trueth agreeing with Gods word, there can no man despise it, but he despiseth God that sent it. For as if a faithfull messenger deliuer the true sum and substance of his Masters minde, though he vse not precisely all his Masters owne wordes, yet is it to be taken for his Masters message; and he that despiseth him in that message, despiseth not the messenger, but the Master. So is it likewise in our Preaching: though the forme of our message be of our owne making (as it commonly falleth out in an Ambassadors Oration) yet because the matter is of our Masters sending, you cannot despise vs, but you despise him that sent vs, as our Master himselfe testifieth: *Hee that beareth you, he beareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.*

Luke. 10. 16.

And thus much I thought good to speake at this time, in iustification of my former doctrine: That a Sermon may

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Sermon



be the word of a man, and yet the truth of God. And that  
 this neither was intended by the speaker, nor yet ought to  
 be extended by the hearer, as implying the least disgrace  
 vnto Preaching, as certaine malignant and captious hearers,  
 snatching at my words, and affixing their owne senses,  
 haue indeuoured to inforce; to whom I wish a  
 better mind, and a more Christian dis-  
 position in the hearing of  
 a Sermon.

The





The third Sermon, at *Paules Crosse*,  
*Nouemb. 5. Anno 1607.* vpon the  
 day of our deliuerance, from the  
 gun-powder treason.

PSAL. 81. VER. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Ver. 1. Sing ioyfully vnto God our strength: sing loud vnto the God of  
 Iacob.

Ver. 2. Take the song, and bring forth the timbrell, the pleasant harpe,  
 with the viole.

Ver. 3. Blow the trumpet in the new Moone: euen in the time appoin-  
 ted at our feast day.

Ver. 4. For this is a statute for Israel, and a law of the God of Iacob.

Ver. 5. He set this in Ioseph for a testimony: when he came out of the  
 land of Ægypt, where I heard a language, that I vnderstood not.



He Psalmist well perpending and  
 recounting with himselfe in a hea-  
 uenly meditation, the blessed estate  
 wherein he then liued in the land of  
 promise, & wisely cōparing it with  
 that wretched estate, wherein his  
 forefathers liued in the land of E-  
 gypt, how that he was now blessed,  
 both with wealth and honour; and (that which is a great  
 deale more precious then they both) with the free and safe  
 vse of Gods holy seruice, whereas they were vexed, both

Exod. 8. 26.

2. Cor. 12. 9.

with want and labour, yea and (that which is a great deale more grievous then they both) with a cruel restraint frō the seruice of their God: For (as *Moses* recordeth in the booke of *Exodus*) they could neither serue their own God without danger to their bodies, because they must offer vnto him the abomination of *Egypt*; nor yet see them serue their gods, without grieve vnto their soules, because they offered vnto idoles, the abomination of *Israel*. This Psalmist therefore, ballancing those two estates together, and finding how graciously God had dealt in his time, by multiplying and vpheaping all his mercies on his Church, more then he had done in the time of old, he was so rauished and transported with that heavenly contemplation, that hee doth, as it were, *Excessum patit*, he is carried, as it were, cleane out of himselfe, as *S. Paul* was in his spirituall extasie, who, whether he were in the body, or out of the body, he himselfe could not tell: calling here vpon the whole Church, in a vehement passion, to come and assise this his godly affection, and to helpe him, with all sorts of muscical instruments (as though humane voices were too weake for his purpose) to found out the praises of so gracious a God: as wel for their exemption from that grievous captiuitie, as for their adoption into so glorious a liberty: wishing, that the day of that blessed redemption might annually and eternally be obserued in the Church, with all kind of religious and festiual solemnity, as if it were enacted by a statute and a law, *In perpetuam rei memoriam*, that so the remembrance of it might neuer fade or perishe.

Hence breaketh out that vehement and patheticall *Exordium* of this Psalme, *To sing, and sing againe: to sing ioyfully, and cheerefully: to bring out their timbrels, their harpes, and their viols; and to blow vp their trumpets, as in the new Moone*. Whereby it appeareth, that the whole scope and purpose of this religious Psalmist, in this his so passionate exhortation, was indeed nothing els, but only to rowse vp the drowisie spirits

of

of the people, by the helpe and assistance of these muscicall instruments, and to waken them to a holy and religious alacrity, that so they altogether (like so many seuerall pipes in an organe) might sound out with full noise the praises of God, as being the chiefeest end for which they were created.

For a man (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* noteth) is not only *Templum*, but also *Tibia Spiritus Sancti*: Hee is not onely a Temple, wherein the holy ghost dwelleth, but he is also a timbrel, whereupon he playeth the praises of God. Which comparison of his hath much fit matter in it, whether wee respect the disposition of mans soule: or, the composition of his body: or the nature or destinate end of them both.

Clem. Alex.  
in Protrept.

and

First, for the Soule; wee see by dayly experience that the mind of a man, if it be indeed a mans mind, if it be not a brutish and an inhumane mind, not the mind of a beast in the body of a man, it hath such a Sympathie and coaffection with the musicke which it heareth, that (like *Hippocrates*: his *Twinnes*) they doe alwayes either mourne or reioyce together: imbracing still the same passion, as though they both were ruled by one heauenly constellation, and had but one spirit diuided betweene them. In so much that (as *Aristotle* reporteth in his *Politikes*) there were diuers of the ancient and learned Philosophers, who being euen astonished at this admirable *Symphonie* and *Concords* of the *Mind* and *Musike*; and not finding any good and sufficient reason for it, they haue thereupon concluded, *That the very soule it selfe could not possibly bee any other thing els, but onely a kinde of Harmony and Musike*. And indeede there is so neere a kindred and affinity betweene these two things, betweene *Anima*, and *Musica*, that alwayes, for the most part, that proueth euidently true, which is vsually current in our prouerbiall speech, that *Ut motus citharae, sic motus animae*: As the Harpe is tuned; so the heart is moved: it giueth ouer it selfe, euen into captiuitie and bondage vnto Musike, to be sway-

Arist. lib. 8.  
Pol. cap. 3.  
Item Cic. lib.  
1. Tusc.

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1. Sam. 16. 23

2. Kings 3. 15.

Cic. lib. 2.  
de orat.Cic. lib. 2.  
de leg.Philo. lib. de  
Sacerdot.  
honor.Theodorit :  
Serm. 3. de  
prouiden.Cic. lib. 2. de  
nat. deor.Athenag.  
orat. pro  
Christian  
Item Aug.  
tract. 9. in  
Epist. Iohan.Psal. 30. 4.  
Psal. 133. 9.

ed and ouerrated to what affection it is pleased. Two notable examples and experiments whereof, the Scriptures themselves offer vs, to let passe all prophane stories, which be of infinite variety. The first is of King *Saul*: in whom the rauing of a wicked spirit, was by the force of *Musike* allayed and calmed. The second is of the Prophet *Ezeas*, in whom the drooping of a good spirit, was by the force of *Musike* excited and quickened. Two contrary effects, and yet both of them wrought by the power of this one cause. Whereby it appeareth, that all the powers of mans soule, yea & all in his soule, are subiect to the power & command of *Musike*. So that the title of *Flexanima*, which is giuen vnto *Rhetorike*, may by farre better right be ascribed vnto *Musike*: so soueraigne an empire hath it ouer the soule, as *Tully* obserueth out of *Plato*.

Now for the body: *Philo Indens* compareth the body of a man vnto a Musically instrument: and the resemblance holdeth well in very many straines: especially in these compounded instruments which are now so much in vse, wherein there is both *Pulsus* and *Flatus* ioyned together. For first, the strings be the *Heart-strings*: the bellowes, be the *lungs*: the wind-pipe, the *throat*: the sound-bord, the *palate*: the keyes, the *teeth*: the *Plastrum* that striketh them, the *tongue*: as *Tully* fitly calleth it: *Quo percutiente omnia vocis instrumenta consonant*, as *Philo* writeth in the fore-alleged place. Thus the whole structure of mans body is framed in such sort, as though he were made vnto none other end, but onely to be *πνευματικὸν ὄργανον*, as *Athenagoras* calleth him, that is, a wind instrument, for that *πνεῦμα*, the holy Ghost, to breath into, and so to found out the praises of God.

Yea, and this is indeede his very naturall end: the very end of mans creation, both in body and soule, is, in trueth, nothing else but to sing and found out the praises of God: in this life with the Saints, as the Prophet *David* teacheth vs: and in the life to come, with the holy Angels, as the

Apottle



Apostle *Iohn* teacheth vs : where it shall be his euerlasting, and neuer-ending worke, to Sing, as is expressly declared in the booke of the *Apocalyps*. So that this holy Psalmist exhorting vs heere with such a *rabbe*, to powre out by singing all the powers of our soules in the praise of God; hee therein exhorteth vs vnto none other worke, then that which is the principall end of our making.

Thus you see what the occasion was of the making of this Psalm: and withall, what the summe is of all those siue first verses, which I now haue read vnto you. Whereof I doe not purpose to deliuer at this time any curious *analysis*; nor yet precisely to stand vpon the exact distinction of those seuerall Musikes, whereunto the Psalmist heere so vehemently exhorteth vs : but onely to point downe vpon one especiall point, more eminent then the rest, which will occupie the whole time.

Only here let me giue you this one general note, to make the way more plaine vnto that particular subiect, whereupon I purpose somewhat longer to insist : that wheras there be but three kindes or formes of *Musikes*, as *Isidore* obserueth; the first, *Harmonicall*, which is expressed by *Voyces* and *Singing*: the second *Rhythmical*, which is expressed by *Strings* and *Strikings*: the third *Organicall*, which is expressed by *Pipes* and *Blowing* : Or, (as *S. Augustine* distinguisheth them, in somewhat other wordes, but to the same effect) *Cantus*, *Flatus*, *Pulsus* : *Cantus*, in choro : *Flatus*, in tuba : *Pulsus*, in ci-thara : the Psalmist heere calleth for euery one of them, and will haue none left out, as *S. Augustine* there obserueth. He calleth for *ioyfull Singing*, and *loud Singing*, which is *Harmonicall Musike* : He calleth for *Tymbrell*, *Harpe*, and *Violl*, which is *Rhythmical Musike* : and he calleth for *Trumpets*, which be *Organicall Musike*. All these he heere calleth for, vnto none other end, but onely that (as the booke of the Psalmes is concluded) *euery thing which hath breath might praise the Lord.*

Apoc. 5.9.  
Apoc. 15.3.  
*rabbe*

Isidor. lib. 3.  
orig. cap. 18.

Aug. in Psal.  
149.

Psal. 150.6.  
Iansen in  
Psal. 150.

For

For the first of those three Musickes, to wit, *Harmonical musicke*, he nameth in the first verse two seuerall kinds of it. The first is *Ioyfull singing*, which is called *Exultation*, and respecteth the springing and motion of the heart: The second is *Loud singing*, which is called *Inbilation*, and respecteth the tuning and modulation of the voyce. But yet so that neither *Exultation* is without the voyce of the body; nor yet *Inbilation*, without the ioy of the soule: but be only so denominated from that which is predominant, being otherwise in vse, almost neuer, asunder; & therefore in this place they be ioined both together: *Exultate Deo adiutori nostro: Inbilate Deo Iacob: exultate, inbilate*. As likewise againe in the ninety five Psalme: *Exultemus Domino, inbilemus Deo*: and in diuers other places.

Of the first of these two singings, to wit, of *Exultation*, I haue already spoken in another place, vpon the like occasion which is offered at this time: and therefore, without either any repetition, or further circuition, I will now come to the second, to wit, to *Inbilation*, and shew you what that is. Which point I am induced the rather to discusse, yea and that somewhat largely, because I find it so often, euen inculked vnto vs, throughout the whole tract of this booke of Psalmes: *Reioyce, and inbilate*, in one place: *Sing and inbilate*, in another: *Play and inbilate*, in another. And so euer (for the most part) when there is any exhortation vnto spirituall reioicing, there still is ioyned with it, this *Inbilation*, as though our inward ioy could not be rightly tempered, vnlesse this *Inbilation* were therewith intermixed. Let vs therefore now consider what this *Inbilation* is, whereunto the holy Scriptures doe so often times inuite vs.

*Inbilation* (as some thinke) is an Hebrew word, indented and made free amongst the Latines, as diuers other strange words be: because otherwise they could not (without long circumlocution) expresse the full power and signification

a Psal. 95. 1.

b Psal. 81. 1.

c Psal. 150. 5.

2. Sam. 6. 15.

nification of it : a worde more familiar amongst Diuines, then amongst secular writers, it being cōmonly applied vnto the expressing, of a spirituall and heauenly reioycing.

In which word, there be diuers of the ancient Fathers, which thinke there lieth hidden some Diuine and Heauenly mysteries: and therefore it is a matter that is worthy the noting, to see what strange speculations they haue deuised in it, and how greatly they haue laboured and toyled themselues to giue vs the full signification of it. Origen, when he commeth to expound this word *Iubilare*, professeth, that he feeleth himselfe to be inwardly touched, he knoweth not by what secret and extraordinary motion, to search into the secret meaning of it : hoping verily thereto find, *Theaurum magnum in parua ditione*, as Saint Chrysostome writeth in another like case ; that is, *Some great treasure couched in this little word*. And the rather is he so conceited of this word, because he findeth a place in the Psalmes, where it is thus written, *Beatus populus, qui intelligit Iubilationem* : Blessed is the people which understandeth that reioycing, which is called Iubilation : and therefore he saith, that he cannot but search out, *quid istud tantum operis sit, quod populum possit beatum facere* : What great and hidden myserie (or rather indeed, what treasure) this Iubilation is, which is able to make blessed, not onely the practisers, but also the very vnderstanders of it. Saint Augustine in like sort, whether it were, that he had read this place of Origen, and so, by imitation, borrowed his conceit from him ; or whether, by the light of his owne vnderstanding, he light into the same conceit with him, I know not ; but he also handleth this same word *Iubilare* after the selfe-same manner. For when he commeth vnto the exposition of it, he likewise professeth, that he cannot, by any meanes, overpasse it : finding himselfe instiged by an inward inspiration, to search into the inward and hidden meaning of it. And he alleadgeth for his reason that same place of the

Orig. hom. 7.  
in Ioh. 2.

Chrys. hom.  
15. in Gen.

Psal. 8. 8. 15.

Aug. in  
Psal. 99.

Pſalme, *Beatus qui intelligit Iubilationem*: Adding further, (as Origen did before him) that it needs muſt be ſome great and weighty thing, and very worthy to be ſearched, whoſe bare knowledge is able to make all his knowers bleſſed, as it is ſaid of this word: concluding with this praier, to attaine vnto the right vnderſtanding of it, *Det mihi Deus noſter intelligere, quod dicam; Det vobis intelligere, quod audiat: God giue me vnderſtanding to know what I ſpeake, and God giue you knowledge to vnderſtand what you heare.* Vnto both parts of which praier I doe hartily ſay, *Amen*; as handling now that ſublime and difficult argument, which hee then ſo greatly feared. Let vs therefore now approach vnto the ſecrets and myſteries of this *Iubilation*, vnto which we haue made ſo great a preparation.

Hil.in Pſal.  
65.

Pſal 4.7.

Iſay. 34:  
13, 14.

*Hilarie* ſaith, that this *Iubilare* is, *vox agreſtis & paſtoralis*, a word that is borrowed out of the countray: but how, or by what reaſon, he expreſſeth not. Onely thus much he ſeemeth (by the forenamed titles) obſcurely to inſinuate, That *Iubilation* is a voice which represents that ioy, which Shepheards uſe to make when as they ſheare their ſheep; or, husbandmen, when as they inne their fruit; which commonly they doe with great gladnes and reioycing: as the prophet *Dauid* noteth in one of the Pſalmes, where he compareth his owne ioy, for the fulnes of it, vnto the husbandmans ioy, *when his corne, and wine, and oyle increaſeth*, which he inſinuateth to be great. The prophet *Iſai* likewiſe uſeth that ſame compariſon, to expreſſe that great ioy wherewith God would recompence the ſorrow of his people: he ſaith, that *there ſhalbe ſuch a ioy, and ſuch a ſhoutiſg in the land, as is commonly vſed at the ſhaking of the olives, and the gathering of the grapes, when the vintage is ended.* Whereby it is euident, that that worke was alwaies done with great mirth and iollity. Of which kind of reioycing, the eight Pſalme may ſerue vs for a pregnant illuſtration, as appeareth by that Inſcription which is prefixed vnto it; where it is intituled, *Pſalmus*

*Calcanium*

*Calcantium in torculari, A song of the treaders in the winepresse*: the very title of this Psalm too, as *Theodoret* noteth out of the *Septuagint*. And this country singing (as *Hilaris* thinketh) is indeede the true and the right *Iubilation*. Of which opinion also is that learned *Romane Varro*, that great master of words, who thus distinguisheth of this word *Iubilare*; that *Quiricare*, is *Vrbanozum*; but, *Iubilare*, *Rusticozum*. Saint *Augustine* giueth some light vnto this forenamed opinion, by adding a familiar example to illustrate it; but yet he goeth far more cunningly about it. As country men (saith he) when they gather in their fruites, doe vse to sing for ioy, and in their song, which consisteth of words, doe intermixe certaine other voyces, which he indeed no words, but notes and interiections of their inward affections; These voyces (saith he) doe properly expresse that inward passion, which we commonly doe call, by the name of *Iubilation*. Such voices were those medleys, which the *Athenians* vsed in their solemne sacrifices called *Oschophoria*, wherein they were wont to adde vnto their songs, as the foote and keeping of them, *Eleeleu, Iu, Iu*: which words haue no certaine and fixed signification, but onely be notes of their inward passion, as *Plutarch* noteth in them. The first, being the *Iubilus* of their *Pean*s and mirth-songs; the latter, the *Iubilus* of their *Thren*i and mourning songs. For, *Iubilus* serueth for this vse also, as well as for the former. The voice of *Iubilation*, is sometimes the voice of tribulation, yea and of *Ingulation* too, as euidently appeareth in the prophecy of *Amos*, where hee threatneth the *Moabites*, that they shall die with the voice of *shouting* and *Iubilation*. So that this *Iubilation* hath not onely his *Canozum*, and *Blandulum*, but also his *Tremulum*, and *Querulum* too, not only his *Hypersidion*, but also his *Hypodorion* too, as *Isidore* teacheth: that is, not only his light and glad musicke, but also his heavy and sad musicke too; though the vse thereof most frequently be in the former sense. Such voices likewise be those *Töer*, which the *Romanes* were ac-

Theod. in  
Psal. 80.

Var. lib. 3.

Aug. in  
Psal. 99.Oschophoria.  
Plut. in vit.  
Thesei.of. *pean*

Amos 2.2.

Hypersidion

Isid lib. 2:  
orig. cap. 19.



customed to mingle with their songs. *To psan* : *To triumphe* : *To Hymen*, and such like. And (to illustrate it by a domestick and familiar example, because *Iubitus* is a domestick and familiar country-song) such voices bee those *Falaises*, which are oftentimes vsed and intermixed with our songs: wordes of no proper and determinate signification, but only intimations of our inward affection, which they argue to be full. Whereunto euen the Greeke word which is vsed for *Iubilatio*, doth seeme to haue a kind of allusion: for it is *Ἀλαλῆσις*, as it were a composition of *Fa, la, la*, *nomine ficticio*; by a word which is made to the similitude of the sound: as *Balatus onium*, for the bleating of sheepe: *hinatus Equorum*, for the neying of horses, and such like. The licence is well known vnto such as bee learned, yea euen vnto euery meane Grammarian, vnder the figure *ὑποκαταβολῆς*. These musical interiections be (as they thinke) this *Iubilatio*, in the first signification.

Now other of the Fathers doe take this word otherwise: affirming it to be, not *Agriculis*, but *Militaris vox*; Not a voyce which is borrowed out of the field from Farmers, but a voyce which is borrowed out of the campe from souldiers: this *Iubitus* beeing drawne from that Hebrew *Iobel*, which signifieth (as is noted) *A Trumpet*, or a *Cornet*, a warlike and a souldiers instrument.

But yet the opinions of those Fathers, doe euen in this same point, not a little dissent. *Origen* saith of this *Iubilatio*, that it is *Clamor exercitus, unanimiter se ad pugnam cohortantis*: *Iubilatio* (saith he) is the voyce of an armie, wherein euery man exhorteth and hearteth on his fellow to march valiantly forward, and to set vpon the enemy. With whom likewise agreeth *Hilarie* in the forealleadged place; taking now this *Iubilare*, by a second cogitation, in a new signification.

Such a *Iubitus* was that, which the *Germanes* vsed when they set vpon the *Romanes* in *Marinus* his armie, crying one vnto another, *Ambrones, Ambrones*; hauing that then for

their

ὀνοματοποιῶν

Lyra in  
cap. 25.  
Leuit.

Orig. hom. 7.  
in Ios.

Plut. in vit.  
Marij.

their Watch-word, as we commonly at the charge, vse to crie out, *S Georges*, and the French men, *S. Diuysse*; and so euery other nation on that Saint which is their patron: auspicing the beginning of the fight with his name, as it were with an *Omen*, and so incouraging, yea & after a sort, euen inraging themselves with that militarie *Iubilation*. Such a *Iubilus* was that likewise which the *Romanes* themselves vsed, when they set vpon the *Latines*, *ad capra paludem*: wherein euery one incouraged his fellow by his name, *On Marcus*, on *Quintus*, on *Decius*, and so forth, euery man bidding his brother be strong; as the Prophet *Isai* speaketh, and to make all speede possible to assaile them on the suddaine. And therefore after their solemne sacrifice in *nonis capratinis*, which was purposely instituted in remembrance of that victorie, the people were inioyned to vse this Rite and Ceremonie, to runne from the place where their sacrifice was made, as fast as they could: and in their running, to call out, *Marcus*, *Quintus*, *Decius*, and diuers such like names: which they did to this purpose: First to admonish them, how notable a victorie they had once obtained, by vsing that militarie iubilation: and secondly, to premonish them, how notable victories they may afterward obtaine, if they remember but to vse the like imbulation againe. A memorable example, both of which *Iubilation*, and also of this notable effect that it wrought, there is set down vpon record in the first booke of *Samuel*, when the Arke of God was brought into the host of *Israel*; the *Philistims* then hearing that ioyfull *Ἀλαλγμός*, which the *Israelites* then made for the comming of it, when they shouted so for ioy, they were suddainly so terrified and appalled at the matter, that they were brought to the point almost to flie for feare: but yet (onely by the strength and power of this militarie iubilation) they gathered vp their spirits, and stood manfully vnto it: as appeareth in the storie; where the verie words of their incitement & militarie cohortation be pur-

*Diuysse*Plut. in vit.  
Romul

Isay 41.6.

*iubilation*  
1. Sam. 4.9.

posely registred, that so they may the better bee both obserued, and remembred. *Be strong. O ye Philistims, and play the men* (say they) *lest ye become slaues vnto the Hebrewes now, as heretofore they haue beene to you. Be valiant therefore, and fight it out.* By which onely encouragement and exhortation, they then got the day of them: and wonne that same famous and renowned victory, wherein God himselfe (as they thought) was led into captivity, being taken a prisoner in the field. This military cohortation is *Iubilation* in the second signification.

Now *Basil*, though he agree with *Origen*, that this *Iubilation* is a militarie word; yet doth hee disagree in this, that he saith it is a voyce, not of Exhortation, but of Gratulation: it is *vox vincentium*, not *praelantium*, as he writeth in that place. It is not the voyce which souldiers doe vse, to exhort one another when they go to fighting, but rather such a voyce as they doe expresse, when the victory is gotten, and they haue done fighting. With whom likewise consent, both <sup>a</sup>*Nyssen*, <sup>b</sup>*Theodorite*, & <sup>c</sup>*Euthymius*, who al of them affirme that *Iubilation* is a voyce of a triumphant reioycing, which presupposeth a victorie. Such a *Iubilus* was that which the *Israelites* made, when the Arke was brought into their campe, as you heard before, it is said that *they shouted with a mighty shout, so that the earth rang againe*, imagining that then they had gotten the victorie into their owne hands, as is noted in that place: and therefore it was that they shouted so for ioy, *triumphum canentes ante victoriam*, as it is in the prouerbe. This *shouting* and this *triumphant reioycing*, is *Iubilation*, in the third signification.

The Prophet *Isaiah* in his Prophecy, seemeth wholly to allow both the former significations of this word *Iubilation*, as indifferently representing the true nature of it. For then he compareth the ioy of the Iewes, which they shall haue by the comming of their great *Messias*, to the reioycing of farmers, when they gather in their fruits, and to the tri-

*Basil. in*  
*Psal. 94.*

*a Nyssorat.*  
*pro festo*  
*paschae.*

*b Theod. in*  
*Psal. 94.*

*c Euthym.*  
*in Psal. 94*  
*1. Sam. 4. 5.*  
*1. Sam. 4. 3.*

*Plato in*  
*Lyfide.*

*Isai. 9. 3.*

umpling

umpling of souldiers, when they diuide their spoiles: therein plainly alluding vnto both the forenamed significations of this word, that it is both *Agrestis* and *Militaris vox*. But the Prophet *Moses* seemeth partly to reiect them both, as somewhat defectiue, and not sufficiently expressing the whole nature of it. For he, describing the *Iubilation* of the children of Israel, whē they sang their ioyful *Pean* vnto the molten Calfe, when as *Ioshua* told him that it was the found of warre, *There is a sound of warre in the hoste: no, no* (sayeth *Moses* to him) *this noyse is neither the voyce of them that flee, nor yet the voyce of them that follow, nor of any such tumultuous and militarie velitation, but it is the voyce of Singing and Iubilation.* Whereby he insinuateth, that there is a *Iubilation*, which is not like any noyse that is vsed in warre: neither the voyce of a fight, nor the voyce of a flight (though both these may be called *Iubilations* too, as you heard before) but there is a *Iubilation* of a more diuine and heavenly nature, like that religious and holy singing, which is vsed by the Church in the seruice of God, and in setting out of his praise, either by the Saints heere in earth, or by the Angels in heaven, when they sing their *Alleluia*, vnto the Lord their God.

Exod. 32.  
17. 18.

mynty fifth.

Iob 38. 7.

In the former of which senses, for the Singing of Saints in the Church of God, is this worde *Iubilare* vsed in the ninth Psalme, *Venite exultemus Domino, iubilemus Deo saluatori nostro. O come let vs Sing vnto the Lord, and let vs Iubilate vnto the rocke of our saluation.* The first word expounding what is meant by the latter: the *ἑτάρις* (as it oftentimes falleth out) being placed in the former place. And where must this *Iubilation* be vsed? It followeth in the next words, *Let vs come before his presence, that is, into his Church*, by the consent of expositors. In the second of these senses, for the singing of Angels, is this word *Iubilare* vsed, in the booke of *Iob*: *Where wast thou* (saith God vnto him) *when the starres of the morning all together did praise mee, and when the sunnes of God did Iubilat vnto me? Cum Iubilarem*

Hier. in cap.  
38. Iob.

any.

Aug. in  
Pfal 94.

Greg. lib. 28.  
Moral.  
cap. 14.

A. Gel. lib. I.  
cap. 15.

Anonymus,  
in Psal. 46.

Aug. in  
Pfal 52.

omnes *fui Dei*. Meaning heere by them, *the Angels*: as *S. Hierom* expoundeth it. And this religious Melody and holy Singing is *Iubilation* in the fourth signification.

Now, if a man desire to vnderstand more particularly what the nature of this kind of *Iubilation* is, because the singing and reioycing of Angels is a thing vnknown vnto vs; *S. Augustine* giueth vs this adumbration of it. *Iubilare*, saith he, *Est gaudium verbis non posse explicare, sed tantum voce testari*. He saith, that *Iubilation* is a kind of vnexpressible ioy, which may, in some sort, be vnterred by the voyce, but yet cannot be expressed by any words. With whom likewise *Saint Gregory* consenteth most fully, defining *Iubilation* to be nothing els, but *Cordis letitia, quæ oris efficacia non expletur, ut cum gaudium quis nec dicere potest, nec tacere*: This *Iubilation* (saith he) is such a flood of ioy, as a man can neither let out by utterance, nor yet keepe in by silence, lest he be ouerwhelmed with it: but hee is brought to such a passe, that (as *Ephraïmus* speaketh) hee is *ἀδυνατῶν λαλῆσαι, ἀλλὰ στυγνὰ ἀδυνατῶν*: He is made by it, altogether vnfit to speake, yet altogether unable to hold his peace. He can neither *Reicere*, nor yet *Recitare gaudia mentis*, as another Father writeth: He hath neither in himselfe a possibility to utter, nor yet a power to smother that ioy which is within him. And therefore *Saint Augustine* saith in another place, that in this iubilation our hart doth *Parturire, quod non potest parere*: Our heart (saith he) in the tempest of iubilation is so passingly surprized and overcharged with ioy, that it laboreth no lesse then a woman in her travell, and yet cannot be deliuered of that which is conceived. Whereupon he inferreth: *Et quem decet ista iubilatio, nisi ineffabilem Deum*: Then to whom can belong this vnspokeable reioycing, but onely vnto God, who is himselfe vnspokeable? And he thereupon concludeth, *Quod si illum fari non potes, & tacere non debes, quid restat tandem, nisi ut iubilas*: If then thou neither canst expresse him, nor oughtest to suppress him, what other thing remaineth, but to iubilate vnto him? Which is (as you haue heard) a

meane



meane course betweene both. It is a kind of speech, because it is a voyce: and it is a kind of silence, because it is an insignificant voice. And therefore, he saith in another place, that *Iubilare, est rursus Deo letitias nostras: To Iubilare, is not to speake out, but to belch out our ioy vnto God*; as it were from a full stomacke: and in another place, *Quod poteris explicare, clamate: quod non poteris, Iubilare*. So that this Iubilation, is a farre more Diuine and Heauenly reioycing, though it be but onely in our hart conceived, then any that can by our words be exprest: and therefore of God is much better accepted, as Saint Bernard teacheth vs: *Plus valet Iubilus cordis, quam strepitus oris: motus gaudiorum, quam sonus labiorum, consonantia voluntatum, magis quam vocum*. Thus you see, both how manifold, and how profound a sense, there lieth hidden in the name of *Iubilation*: which I haue insisted the longer vpon, because I obserued, so many fathers, and so ancient, so wise, and so learned, to be brought by this one word, into so great a muse, and almost into a maze. And therefore I iudged that not vnworthy your hearing, which so many graue fathers and of so great learning, haue iudged to be worthy their inquisition and searching, yea and that with such infinite and vnexhausted paines and diligence, as this treatise must needs represent, and subiect vnto the eyes of all men, that are of any iudgement.

Now the end of all this long amplification, is no more but onely that one short lesson, which the Apostle Iohn giueth vs, in the first of his Epistles, to wit, that *in this our reioycing vnto God, our ioy must be full*, Full, not faint, not formal, not hypocriticall; but true, sincere, effectuell: that it may be indeed, as it is in name, a *Iubilation*: that is, a full and hartie reioycing. Then to come now somewhat lower from this seraphicall discourse, wherein I haue spoken but onely to a few; and to descend vnto more familiar and popular matter, and to apply all this treatise vnto our present purpose.

Aug. in  
Psal. 101.

Aug. in  
Psal. 80.

Bern. Sermon.  
super Salu-  
regina.

1. Iohn 1. 4.

Cic.lib 4.  
Tusc. quæst.

Iſai. 60. 5.

Pſal. 4. 7.

Pſal. 122. 7.

Phil. 4. 7.

In vaine doe wee now celebrate this feaſt of mirth and ioy, if we haue no ioy of it: and if we haue ioy, we haue it in the hart, and not in the hippes onely. For *Ioy*, (as the Stoicks note, who are the moſt accurate definers of paſſions) is indeed nothing els, but *Cordis dilatatio*, that is, *an enlarging and ſpreading out of the hart*; as *Sorrow* is nothing els, but onely a *contracting, and a preſſing it together*. And ſurely the Lord, in this point, hath done graciouſly his part, that our ioy may be full. For he hath euen dilated and enlarged our heart, as the prophet *Iſai* ſpeaketh, that we may largely reioice: yea and further, he hath alſo enlarged the matter and ſubiect of our ioy, and made it proportionable vnto our heart, that our ioy on all ſides, may euen overflow: and that our reioicing (as here he requireth) may be indeed a right *Iubilation*. For in what ſenſe ſoeuer we take this *Iubilation*, the Lord hath giuen vs as great occaſion to vſe it, as euer hee did the Iewes, who be here called to it.

For firſt, if *Iubilation* be taken for the country mans ſinging, occaſioned by the plentifull increaſe of their fruites, (as it is in the firſt ſenſe) then neuer had any countrey men in the world, greater cauſe of *Iubilation and hartie reioicing*, when their corne and wine and oyle increaſed, then our whole country hath, by thoſe many, both peaceable and plentiful yeeres, which God (of his goodnes) hath now a long time giuen vs: wherein we haue attained that happy coniunction, which *Dauid* prayed for vnto his beloued *Hiernſalem*, that there is amongſt vs, *both peace within our walles, and plentyennes within our palaces*; yea, and within our cottages too: yea and that both theſe ſo great, as the world hath nowhere ſcene, in this our preſent age.

For firſt, as concerning the *Peace* we haue inioyed, it may truly be called *The peace of God which paſſeth all vnderſtanding*. For it paſſeth indeed all humane vnderſtanding, that ſo many plots being daily deuifed, ſo many ſnares being ſecretly laid, and ſo many engins being cunning-

ly applied, by our restles and erreconcileable enemies, for the breaking of our peace, and the ytter rooting out of Gods religion from amongst vs: yet that (maugre all the malice of all the limmes of satan) our Church should still continue in a sweete and constant peace, and that all *the gates of hel should not preuaile against it*: but that, (notwithstanding all their wicked machinations) our Church should not onely inioy peace in it selfe, but also should giue peace vnto all her bordering neighbours: being erected as a Sanctuary for all the afflicted members of all other Churches, *to sue vnto, as birdes vnto their bill*, as the Psalmist speaketh, there to shroud themselues amongst her greene and flourishing branches, from all those greuous tempests which at home in their owne countries haue fiercely beaten vpon them, and forced them to take their flight away from them, finding heere that blessed peace and tranquillitie in our Church, which in their owne they haue sought for, with the spending of their deereft blood, and yet could neuer get. So that for this our Peace wee must needs conclude with the poet, that *Deus vobis hac otia fecit*: *It is onely God himselfe, yea euen the God of peace, that hath made this peace amongst vs.* Our peace is *the Lords doing*, and it is *wonderful in our eies*, considering the opposition: It is (as I said before) *The peace of God which passeth all vnderstanding*. And therefore vnto him, for this his gracious fauour, we ought to offer vp our hearty *Iubilation*.

Mat. 16. 18.

Psal. 11. 1.

Virg. Eclog. 1.

2. Cor 13. 11.  
Psal. 118. 13.

2. King 7. 3.

abundance

Now for our *Plenty*, which is Gods second blessing vpon this our nation, & the second argumēt to excite vs vnto this country-iubilation; that hath beene so wondrous great amongst vs, as though God himselfe had made *windowes in beauen*, to raine it downe vnto vs. For what one is there of al our neighbour nations, whose indigencie and want hath not beene supplied by our Plenty and abundance? *France, Spaine, Germanie*, yea, and *Italy* it selfe, thought it stand so distant from vs. So that the title which *Catogiue*th vnto

Cic. orat. 4. in  
Verrem.

Gen. 47. 19, 20

Stow. Annal.  
p. 1147.

Stow, ibid. p.  
423. 621, 865.

Iud. 6. 37.

*Sicilie*, to be the chiefeſt barne, nay the very nurse of *Italie*, that *cella penaria*, & *nutrix Italie*, that may in ſome degree be applied vnto our land, as wel as to that Iſland: who haue from hence nourished ſome of the very chiefeſt Principalities of *Italie*, euen then, when the breasts failed of their ancient nurse *Sicilie*, & were vtterly dried vp. So that as once the lad of *Egypt* in the time of *Ioseph* was a common ſtorehouſe vnto all her neighbours, to relieue them with her Plenty in their great neceſſity: ſo hath our land oft times beene, through Gods mercie and goodneſſe; with which euen *Egypt* it ſelfe cannot compare in fruitfulneſſe: for *Egypt* hath ſuffered many famines, yea and thoſe great ones too: ſo that her inhabitants haue beene forced, both to ſell themſelues, and their wiues, and their children, and all that euer they had, to buy themſelues bread, and ſo of ſubiects to become ſlaues and ſeruants, and that onely for the neceſſity of their famiſhed belly: but our land hath neuer ſuſtained any famine in any mans memorie; the hardeſt that it hath at any time indured, is but *Annona Caritas*, it is not *Fames*; it cannot be called *Famine*, but onely a little *Dearth*: yea and euen that *Dearth* alſo, rather growing (often times) from thoſe cormorants our Cornmongers, then from the fault of our earth. Which *Deaths* of ours, notwithstanding when they be euen at the deareſt, yet may be counted *Plenties*, if they be but compared with the ordinarie harueſt of other countries. It is noted amongſt vs as a very great *Dearth*, and is put into our *Chronicles* amongſt our rareſt accidents, if wheate bee but brought vnto ſome forty ſhillings or foure markes a ſeame; and that not often neither: which in diuers other countries, is very farre beneath the ordinarie prices, as our Merchants daily find by their owne experience.

So that all the world may beare vs witneſſe, that as once the dewe of heauen fell onely downe vpon *Gedeons fleece*, when as all the earth beſide was hard and dry about it; ſo

the

the dewe of Gods blessing hath onely fallen one our land, when all our neighbor countries haue beene destitute of it, lying dry and vnfruitfull, and being vtterly vntilled by the hand of the farmer, but yet euery where harrowed by the hand of the Souldier, & rent almost in sunder, with all those great calamities, which fire and cruell sword could bring vpon them, and that for many yeares together: whilest we, in the meane season, haue sit quietly at home, *Euery man under his vine and under his figtree*, as the Prophet *Micah* speaketh, *without all manner of feare*; hauing our *sonnes and our daughters like the polished corners of the Temple*: our *Oxen strong to labour*: Our *Sheepe bringing forth thousands and ten thousands of increase*: Our *garners stuffed full with all manner of store*: hauing no *inuaſion*, nor *leading into captiuitie*, nor *no complaining in our streets*. So that all the world may iustly say of vs, *O happy are the people that be in such a case*: and we may as iustly sing againe vnto them, *Yea, happy are the people that haue the Lord for their God*: for that is indeede the true cause of all our happines, if wee truely looke into it. And therefore vnto him for this his great mercy, we ought hartily to Iubilate. But surely our vnthankfulnes in this point hath beene exceeding great: we haue not offred vnto God this Iubilation of thankfulness in any meane proportion, as his goodnes deserueth: but abusing those forenamed great blessings of God, both of *Peace* and *Plenty*, vnto our own lusts, we grow wilde and wanton by them, like *untamed heifers*: and so run on directly into the finnes of the *Sodomites*, into *Pride, Lust, and Idleness, & fulnes of bread*: these be the true effects, which (in steade of true thankfulness) our *Peace* and *Plenty* haue produced in vs: *We call for the timbrell, the harpe, and the viole* (as the Prophet *Iſai* noteth in the *Iewes*) and for all those other *istruments*, which heere you see consecrated vnto holy Iubilations, and these wee daily abuse in our vnholly feasts and bankets; where we Iubilate vnto our bellies, as though we made them our Gods,

one

Micah. 4. 4.

Pſal. 144. 12,  
13, 14.

ver. 15.

plenty

Ier. 31. 18.

Eze. 16 49, 50.

Iſa. 3. 12,  
in istruments



forgetting God himselſe, who is the fountaine of all mercie: and therefore (ſaith the Prophet) *my people are lea into captiuitie.* Therefore: that is, for their vnthankfulnes in forgetting of God; the giuer of all goodnes: a great; and a iuſt cauſe: Which iudgement I pray God to turne away from vs, and to forget all our vnthankfulnes; who ſurely haue matched them in their ſinnes, yea & outmatched them too; and therefore haue great and iuſt cauſe to feare, leſt we be matched with them in the puniſhment of their ſinne. For what meaneth this hanging & this lingering plague, which houereth ſo long (like a ſad and threatning cloud) ouer the heads of vs all, in all the corners of this land? Somewhere rayning downe ſadly, ſomewhere drizling but ſoftly, the dropes of Gods diſpleaſure: what meaneth it I ſay, but that ſeeing God perceiueth how negligent we haue bene to Iubilate in our Hymnes the times of thankesgiuing for his benefits receiued, he will now make a triall whether we wil be more diligent to iubilate in our *Threnes* the teares of repenting for his iudgements threatned.

If by neither of theſe two meanes we can be wonne vnto God, but that, like thoſe peruerſe and froward children, of whom our Sauour Chriſt complaineth in the Goſpel we wil neither be brought to dance when God pipeth vnto vs, nor yet to lament, when he mourneth vnto vs, there is doubtleſſe yet behind, in the bellie of this blacke and ſlow-mouing cloud, that fierce and grieuous tempeſt to be rained downe vpon vs, wherof the prophet *Dauid* ſpeaketh in the *Pſalme* that God will raine downe vpon the heads of the wicked, both ſnares, and fire, and brimſtone, and plagues, and ſtormes, and tempeſts, this ſhalbe the portion of their cuppe. For it is a ſure rule and of vchangeable verity, which *S. Auguſtine* giueth vs that *Si non reddis Deo faciendo quod debes, reddes ei patiſcendo quod debes.* He that payeth not God his right, in doing that he ought: God will pay him his right, in ſuffering that he ought. But to proceede to the next point.

Luke 7.32.

Pſal. 11.6.

Aug. lib. 3.  
de libero  
arbit. cap. 15.

If *Iubilacion* be taken for a militarie cohortation, exciting and stirring vp one another to alacrity (as it is in the second sence) then haue we both great and iust cause, to vse euen this kind of Iubilacion too. Who, though we haue now made a new, and a true peace (as we are perswaded) with those old aduersaries of ours, with whom we haue had a long & a strong iarre, (a iarre indeed more truly then a warre) though (I say) at this present, we count all to be sure, and sing nothing but *Peace, Peace*, as it is in the Prophet: yet ought we not in reason to be so lulled asleepe, and as it were bewitched with the sweete and charming name of *Peace*, as vtterly to forget the time of war. It is no ill policie, whilest the weather is calme, to prouide for a storme. For though the tempest of all their old displeasure be now for the present well blowne ouer: yet haue we not a Rainbow, to giue vs full assurance, that the like storme shall neuer arise againe from that quarter. And therefore, though we haue great cause of reioycing in this our present peace, and iust cause to iubilate vnto God for the same, as before I noted: yet ought we not so securely to be reposed in it, as to thinke, that this our state, cannot be changed from it: lest if we be too supine & too carelesse, as the men of Laish were, we be also taken tardie, as they were. The storie is well knowne. It is a good rule which the Apostle *Paul* giueth vs, not onely in spirituall matters, but also in ciuill too: *That he which now standeth, should take heed lest he fall.* And it is no euill rule which *Epicharmus* giueth vs, *Νῆψε, καὶ μένεας ἀπιστῶν, ἀρχὴ τὰυτὰ τῶν φρενῶν*: that, *watchfulness, and distrustfulness, be the very finewes of wisdom and prudence.* Which I speake not, to buz into the heads of the people any vnneccessarie iealousie and suspition, which were contrarie vnto charitie: but to rowze and stirre them vp vnto necessarie vigilancie and circumspection, that they sleepe not in security: that they be not too forward, (as the most men are now adaies) in cashiering of their ar-

Ier. 6. 14.

Iudg. 18. 7. 37.  
1. Cor. 10. 12.

Cic. lib. 1. ad  
Attic. epist. 14.

mour,

Micah. 4. 3.

Ioel 3. 10.

Aug. Epist. ad  
Macedon.Hier. Epist. ad  
Paulin.

Eze. 13. 10, 11.

Isai 30. 13.  
Hier. Epist. ad  
Demetriad.

possibly

mour, and in *Breaking their swords into shutes, and their speares into spades*, as the Prophet *Micha* speaketh; lest the time do sodainely fal vpon them, (yea and that ere they be provided for it) when they would with them brought backe into their old formes againe, as the Prophet *Ioel* noteth. I will not *Male ominari*, because I see no iust cause: but yet thus farre I hope I may safely goe with Saint *Augustine*, as to giue you this one watchword, for your better caution, and to shake off too much presumption: that *Nemo potest veraciter amicus esse hominis, nisi ipse fuerit primus veritatis*; that *Those men can hardly be truly friends to any, that be not truly friends vnto the truth it selfe*. For (as Saint *Hierom* well obserueth vnto the same purpose) it cannot be *Vera amicitia*, if it be not *Christi glutino copulata*; *There cannot be possibly any true and sound friendship, whereas both parties be not glued together by Christ*. Those ciuil and politike respects, whereby nations are commonly cemented together, they be but *Cementum male temperatum*, as the prophet speaketh, they be but a kind of ill-temperd mortar, *Arena sine calce*, as it were *sand without lime*, if that *Gluten Christi, the truth of Christ religion, be not mixed with them*. And they be commonly no better then a dawbing ouer of a matter, as it were the parieting of an olde rotten wall, whose swelling breaketh sodainely, when as no man looketh for it, as the Prophet *Isai* noteth. But a word of this point (I hope) will be sufficient. For (as Saint *Hierom* apologiseth in a like slippery argument) *Hec dicta sunt non in fausto contra vos vaticinio, sed pauidi cantique monitoris officio, vel ea fortasse, qua tuta sum formidantis*: Let these things be interpreted, not as ominously fore-speaking that which certainly will be: but, as carefully forecasting, that which possible may be: The tendernes of my lone, being happily, there afraid where it may be, there is indeed no true cause of fear. But yet stirring you vp vnto a carefull circumspection, which (I am sure) can doe no harme.

For be it, that we lacked the feare of all forraine enemies,

yet

yet lacke we not the danger of domesticall and intestine, which are more to be feared: yea and so much the rather too, because they can so cunningly disguise & mask themselves, and seeme to giue so little an outward cause of feare. For how many be there now amongst vs, not onely of our secret Papists, but also of our open Recusants too, which doe seeme to reioyce and to iubilate with vs, in the commemoration of this happie day, and to celebrate the festiuall solemnity of it with as great a zeale, as the best of vs all, giuing place vnto no man, in ringing, singing, feasting, bonefiring, and in all other complements of outward reioycing: but yet for all this, they haue inwardly great griefe, to see the remembrance of this ioyfull day so honoured: their ioy is nothing els but *Ementita frontis serenitas*, The false glimpse of a lying countenance; they reioyce in the face, but not in the hart, as the Apostle Paul speaketh. For surely, if they haue any ioy at all in their hartes, it is none other, but onely that cruell ioy which wicked Esau had; that (yet for all this) they hope, that *The time of mourning will one day fall vpon vs, and then will they kill their brother Iacob*. And therefore great cause haue wee to iubilare, yea and to *Vigilare* too, to stand vpon our watch, as the Prophet Habakuk speaketh: yea, and vpon our guard too. and to cheere vp one another to watchfulnes and circumspection, that we be not taken sleeping by our waking enemies, who are like to God in this, that *they neither slumber nor sleepe*: but like the diuell in this, that they apply all their watching, not vnto good, but euill. They watch not, as the keeper of Israel watcheth, who *neither slumbreth nor sleepeth*. to preserue and maintaine vs; but they watch as the thiefe watcheth, to spoile and to destroy vs, as our Sauour Christ teacheth vs. And therefore good is that counsell which in an other place he giueth vs, that *seeing we know not certainly when the thiefe will come, that therefore we should constantly watch for his coming*.

1. Cor. 5. 12.

Gen. 37. 41.

Hab. 2. 1.

Psal. 121. 4.

Iohn 10. 10.

Mat 24. 42,  
43, 44.

L

To

1. Sam. 20. 3.

Zach 3. 2.

Dan, 3. 22.

To shew you the necessity of this good aduice, *To watch*, in that one example, whose memoriall we now celebrate: you may call to your remembrance (and you ought neuer to forget it) how neere we were al of vs almost ouertaken, for lacke of this watching: nay, vtterly ouerthrowne by our deepe security, in that damnable plot of the gun-powder conspiracy: how the plot was contriued, the matter congested, the worke finished, and that there lacked nothing vnto the very perfecting of our destruction, but onely the giuing of fire vnto the engine. So that as the prophet *David* (speaketh) *there was but one steppe betweene vs and death*: but onely that one; which also might haue bene as easily finished, as it was so farre ripened, if our gracious protector, *The keeper of Israel*, had not watched a great deale more carefully for vs, then we did for our selues: but that neuer-sleeping eie of Gods mercifull prouidence (of whose vnspeakeable goodnes wee haue had so great experience) that waked, when we slept, and beheld all the working of those hellish pioners, yea and laughed euen to skorne all their wicked indeuors. For when they themselues thought all to bee cocksure, and were euen putting of the fire vnto their infernall powder, he vtterly defeated all their purpose and indeuour; by snatching vs as a firebrand out of the fire, and causing the flames therof (as the flames of *Sidrachs* fire) to issue out vpon themselues, & to deuoure those that sought to deuoure vs. So that we haue as great a cause to Iubilate vnto God, as euer those three children had, when they sung their renowned Psalmes in the fiery ouen. For surely, their deliuerance was neuer more miraculous, then was that of ours: who were both designed to as cruell a flame, and as strangely deliuered from the same, euen by the immediate hand of God, he being, as it were, in the midst of the flame with vs, as he was with them.

For in that miraculous deliuerance of ours, there be two points most remarkeable: in both which the hand of God

may



may be sensibly felt, yea and his pretence (in a sort) may be visibly scene, there shined so great an euidence of Gods providence in them.

The first of them is this, that he made their owne tongue the instrument to bewray them : that so they should, *Suo indicio, quasi forex, perire* : as the Comike speaketh ; that they should perish, as the rat doth, by bewraying of themselves : and that so their owne tongue should fall upon them, as it is in the Psalme. For the same tongue which could contriue the treason, could not conceale the treason ; but though it inioyned dumbesilence vnto others, yea euen vnto their owne pestiferous confederates, yea and that vnder the sacrament, or rather indeede vnder the excrement, of an othe (to vse S. *Augustines Paronomasie*) yet could it not performe the same silence it selfe ; but as though there had beene *Flamma, ore in ardens*, as *Ennius* speaketh : as though the traytors mouth had beene burnt with his owne flames, or his tongue had beene bigge with the scorching coales of Iuniper, so labored it of that mischief which it had cōceiued, & could find no rest, nor no ease, vntil it was deliuered, and had brought forth that same damnable birth into the open world. *This was the Lords doing, and it is mercifull in our eyes.*

It hath often times occasioned me to meditate very seriously vpon that place of King Salomon : *Curse not the King no not in thy thoughts: for the fowles of the aire shall carry the voyce and that which hath wings shall declare the matter.* Which point we see verified in the discouerie of this matter, *That which bad wings bewrayed it.* Not *Ibici grues*, nor *Bessi hirundines*, though both these haue beene discouersers of very heinous treacheries ; but *volucris vox*, as the Comike speaketh, certaine winged words : certaine words which came out of the wing of a bird : the quill of a gooses wing, bewrayed this whole treason. So that, as once the Romane geefe preferred their capitol from surprizing ; so now againe one of the same kind, hath likewise preserved our Capitol from

Terent. Eunu-  
ch Act. 3.  
Sc. 6.

Psal. 64. 8.

Excrement

Aug. lib. de  
hæresib. Sc.  
46.

Cic. lib. 3. de  
Orat.

Psal. 118. 3.  
A

Eccle. 10. 20.

Plaut. lib. de  
Garrulitate.

Plaut. in Am-  
phit. Act. I.  
Scen. 1.

Paro-  
nomasie

burning, yea and our *Capita* too, the chiefeft heads of al our nation *That which had wings bewrayed the treason*: which one would little haue dreamed to haue beene ordained to so great a good. This is the former point of Gods mercifull poudience, and in a sort of his presence in discovering this treason, and deliuering vs from that great destruction; that he brought the matter so about, that *Their owne tongues bewrayed them.*

The second is this: that though they speake their mind as it were in a strange language, & deliuered their meaning but onely in parables; yet that God so inlightned the royal heart of our King, with a bright shining beame of his heavenly wisdom, that notwithstanding all their obscuring of their inward meaning, yet he should point downe directly vpon the very mystery of their iniquity, & present- (like an *Oedipus*) dissolue all their *Sphinxas*: or rather indeed (like a *Salomon*) find out all their riddles. This hath likewise occasioned me, to ruminate very often vpon an other place of King *Salomon*: that surely there is a *sentence of diminution in the toppes of a King*: and that his heart is not as another mans heart is: but indeed a most rich treasure of profound and hidden wisdom: God himselfe by imparting of that diuine and heavenly blessing, seeking to honour himselfe (in their person) amongst men. But to proceede. If *Iubilation* be taken for the triumphing voyce of souldiers, hauing vterly defeated and vanquished their enemies (as it is in the third sense: then haue we (euen in this respect) as great a cause to vse this *Iubilation*, as euer yet had any people or nation, since the world first began: who (by the assistance of Gods mercifull poudience) haue so often times defeated so many plottes and engines, deuised by our enemies for our viter subuersion: wherein alwayes their snakes haue fallen vpon their owne heads, and wrought their own confusion; giuing vs a farre greater and iust occasion to sing vp and downe all the streetes of our cities, as on the Ro-

means

presently

1. King. 10. 3.

Pro. 16. 10.

1. Sam. 10. 9.

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manes did: that *Malum consilium, est consultori pessimum*: as the detestation of so many and so notable treasons, com-  
plotted by our enemies, both against our late dread soue-  
raigne Queene, and against our <sup>now</sup> most gracious King, and  
(in them both) against all vs, hath notably declared to the  
wonderment of the world. Wherein still those our ene-  
mies did fall into that pit, which they digged for vs, and we  
were saved from it, as it were on Eagles wings, as the  
Prophet *Moses* speaketh. And yet haue wee beene forced  
to passe both *ibrorow fire and water vnto our deliuerance*, as the  
Psalmist affirmeth of the Israelites: by both which our  
enemies haue endeauoured to intrap vs; and yet in both our  
God hath most graciously deliuered vs. His name be prai-  
sed for it.

For the first, to wit, our deliuerance in the waters, in the  
time of our late Queene: let vs but call to our remembrance  
that same wonderfull deliuerance which from heaven was  
sent vnto vs, in that wonderfull yeere of *Anno. 1588.* when  
all our seas were ouer-spread with the sailes of our enemies,  
and all our waters couered with the ensignes of those that  
came to fight against vs. A benefit whose memory ought  
neuer to die amongst vs, neuer to decay. For though wee  
now be at one with that nation, which at that time most  
earnestly endeauoured our destruction; it followeth not,  
that because they be now (as wee hope) our friends, that  
therefore it should not be lawfull for vs, to remember the  
great mercie and goodnes of God towards vs, when as we  
are sure, that they were our enemies.

Let vs therefore (I say) but call vnto our mind with  
what a strong desire and mighty preparation they came  
as then against vs, and how great a perturbation their com-  
ming then wrought in vs, *terrore*, not *panico*, but *Hispanico*; and  
we shall find that we had as great a cause to vse that feareful  
Iubilation, which is recorded in the Psalme, as ever the  
Iewes had in their like trepidation: *If the Lord himselfe had*

A. Gel. lib. 4.

cap. 5.  
*Petition.*

Exod. 19. 4.

Psal. 66. 12.

*terrore*

Psal. 124. 2.

not been on our side, if the God of heauē had not been on our side, they had swallowed vs vp quicke, when they came against vs, they were so wraithfully displeased with vs. The floods had sorely drowned vs, and the waters had passed open ouer our sonnes. But the Lord strong in battell was our refuge, the God of Iacob was our defence. Yea, and he armed forth all his creatures in the day of our battell, to fight for our defence, and our enemies offence, that we might be deliuered, and they destroyed. The winds fought against them, and against their shippes, as they did against the shippes of *Ahusa*. The sea fought against them, and against their host, as it did against the power and host of *Pharao*. The starres fought against them, and against their horses, as they did against the horses and chariots of *Sisera*. All the elements in their courses fought euery one against them, as they did against the *Canaanites*, vntill they had brought them vnto vtter confusion. Now (as it is in the booke of wisdom) *By all the same means wherby our enemies were destroyed, were we (through Gods goodnes) miraculously deliuered. So that it might fitly be said vnto vs, which the Poet saith vnto the Romane Emperour:*

*Omnia dilate Deo. — Cui militat ather,  
Et comitasti veniunt ad classica venti.*

And therefore we haue great cause to Iubilate vnto God, and to sing out vnto him, that same *Triumphe*, which the *Israelites* did in their like deliuerance out of the waters. The Lord hath triumphed gloriously ouer his enemies: the horse and his rider [the ship and his sailer] hath he overthrown in the midst of the sea. The waters haue covered them, the floods haue overwhelmed them, they sank vnto the bottome as a stone. Therefore blessed be the Lord for thus auenging of *Israel*. This cause haue we to Iubilate vnto the Lord our God, if we remember his great mercies in that memorable yeare, & the wonderfull deliuerance which he then brought vnto vs out of those great waters, which had almost overwhelmed vs. Yea and neuer while leffe haue we (nay ten thousand

2 Chron. 20.  
37.

Exod. 14. 17.

Iudg. 5. 20.

Wisd. 11. 5.

Claud. de ter-  
tio consula-  
tu Honorij.

Exod. 15. 1, 5.

Iudg. 5. 2.

*Voluit*

time;

times greater, if we call vnto our mind, our miraculous deliuerance from that raging fire, which was prouided to deuoure vs: (the second of our instances) wherein we might truly haue sayd, with the Prophet *Iſai*, that, *If the great mercie of the Lord of hostes had not bene, we should surely haue bene made, euen like vnto Sodom, and to Gomorrah.* Like vnto them indeed, yea and not onely like vnto them, in the generall state of our destruction, being vtterly destroyed as they were; *Cum rameno & puluisculo*, as it is in the proverbe: but also, like vnto them, in the particular meane of our destruction, being *destroyed by fire*, as they were. Our Towers, our Princes, our Churches, our Priests, our Cities, our Houses; of all which we might haue said, if their plot had preuailed:

*Hec omnia vidi inflammari,*

*Prius vi vitam enitari,*

*Iouis aram sanguine turpari:*

and all reduced to the true face of *Sodom*. But yet here is one difference, wherein the malice of our enemies did as it were erect it selfe, that they had prouided for our destruction, a farre more base and vnworthie fire, then that wherewith the *Sodomites* themselues were destroyed. For their fire was *the fire of God*, as it is expressly called in the booke of *Iob*: but our fire should haue bene the fire of of the diuell. Their fire came downe from the bosome of Heauen: but our fire should haue come vp from the bowels of hell. So that, by this difference, their fire was farre more noble then ours. But yet, there is another difference, wherein (maugre all the malice of our hellish enemies) yet our fire had bene more noble then theirs: that their fire, descending downe from Heauen, and tending towards hell, did certainly beat downe with it, those cursed bodies thither: but our fire, ascending vp from hell, and tending towards Heauen, had (doubtles) carried vp those blessed soules thither; whom our enemies had appointed as

sheepe

*Iſa. i. 9.*

*Plant. Rud.  
Act. 3. See. 6.*

*Cic. lib. 3:  
Tusc.*

*Iob i. 16.*



sheepe vnto the slaughter, and intended to haue sacrificed, as a burnt offering vpon an altar. A burnt offering in deede, burnt euen to coles and ashes: but yet for all that, a sacrifice, which (no doubt) but God would graciously haue accepted, in respect of the innocencie of those lambes which were offered; though vtterly detested and abhorred, in respect of their cruelty by whom they were slaughtered: as he did the sacrifice of *Abels* holy blood, though offered by the vnholly hands of his cruell brother *Caine*. But yet for all that, thrice blessed be the name of the Lord our God, *Who did not giue vs ouer as a pray into their teeth*, but miraculously deliuered vs, euen *inter sacrum & saxum*, as he once deliuered *Izaack*, euen as the stroke was in striking. So that, we haue great cause to iubilate vnto God, and to sing that ioyfull *melos* which the *Israelites* once did, in their like deliuerance from their imminent danger: *Our soule is escaped as a bird out of the snare: the snare is broken, and we are deliuered. Our helpe is onely in the name of the Lord.* And againe, that in another place: *Blessed art thou O Israel, who is like vnto thee, O people saved by the Lord?*

To conclude; If iubilation be takē for the Ecclesiasticall psalmodie and musicke of the church, whether militant, or triumphant, when they make their holy melody, and praise the name of God, *In Hymnes, and Psalmes, and Spirituall songs*, (as it is in the fourth sense) then euen in this respect also, haue we great and iust cause to iubilate vnto God; who hath most graciously deliuered this famous church of ours, not onely from those our forenamed enemies, which openly oppugne hir, but also from others vnnamed too, which secretly vndermine hir: indeuoring, by a colourable pretence of reformation, to bring it vnto vtter desolation and destruction, and to make it an habitation for *ostriches* and *dragons*, that *Zym* and *Sym* may dance in our palaces, and the *Satyr* call out vnto his fellowes: that whereas now there is heard the voice of holy singing and iubilation, there might be no-

thing

Psal. 124. 6.  
Plaut. capt.  
Act. 3. Sec. 4.  
Gen. 22. 10, 12

Psal. 124. 7, 8.  
Deut. 33. 29.

Col. 3. 16.

Isa. 23. 21, 22.

thing seeme, but onely *The abomination of desolation.*

Notwithstanding all whose malice, and secret vnderworking, yet hath God here established a most glorious church amongst vs; not vnlike vnto that *New Hierusalem*, which came downefrom heaven, made altogether of *Carbuncles* and precious stones, as the prophet *Isai* speaketh: so that the glorious beauty of our church this day draweth all mens eyes vnto it, as it were a blazing starre, yea and euen perstringeth and dazeleth them; with the shining brightnes of it. Neither is there any thing (God be prayed) in this worthie church of ours, which so greatly needeth to be reformed, as that such vncleane and filthie birds be chased out by whom it is defiled, and by whose iarring sounds, as it were by the yelling of *Mewes*, and the scritch- ing of *Owles*, the holy musicke of our church is greatly disturbed. And therefore, that our church may be glorious within, as well as without (as it is required in the spouse of Christ) we ought continually to furnish it with the voice of iubilation, that the praises of God and of the Lambe, may perpetually sound in it, and neuer die.

This in what sense soeuer we take this *Iubilati- on* you see, how great a cause God hath giuen vs all to vse it, no sort of vs excepted, Courtiers, nor Carters, Souldiers, nor Citizens lay men, nor Ministers, but that every one of vs in our seueral callings, haue waighty cause to Iubilate vpon special occasions: but all of vs in generall vpon that great occasion wherby we are now called vnto this present Iubilation; because euery man hath his share in this cause of our reioy- ing. And therefore (as the psalmist in this place exhorteth vs) let vs take up the *Psalmes*, bring out the timbrell, the pleasant harpe with the viole; sound up the trumpet, as in the new moone, that young men, and maidens, old men and babes, may Iubilate and praise the name of the Lord: For this is the day which the Lord hath made: therefore let vs be glad and reioyce therein. A day where- in the diuell contended with God himselfe, about the body

*Gene.*

Apo. 21. 11, 19

Ila. 54. 11.

Psal. 45. 13.

Psal. 148. 13, 13.

Psal. 118. 24.

Iud. 9.

Heb. 9. 17, 22.

of our King; and in him about the body of our whole kingdome too: as once he contended with the Angel *Michael* about the body of *Moses*: hoping to haue gotten the honour of this day, and to haue glorified himselfe against God himselfe by it, in the ouerthrow of his Church. But God was too strong for him, and so hath gotten the day from him: making this day for euer, both honourable to himselfe, and comfortable vnto vs, by our preservation, which he thought to haue made most horrible & dismall, by our vtter destruction. And therefore, as the Iewes, vpon a like occasion, haue eternized the memorie of their *Purim* by making it *A statute in Israel, and a law in Iacob*, as the Psalmist speaketh in this place: so is it both wisely and religiously ordained by vs, that it should be both a *Statute* and a *Law* in *England* too, a *Statute-law*, to nobilitate and eternize the blessed remembrance of this holy day: which I pray God may for euer be better observed then many other of our good statutes be, which haue formerly bin made. And so for this time I here conclude.

The



## The fourth Sermon, at the Court.

Nouemb. 15. Anno 1607.

2. TIM. 3. VER. 8.

*As Iannes and Iambres resisted Moses, so doe these men resist also the truth.*



Vr Sauour Christ affirmeth in the Gospel of S. Luke, that *when the Sonne of man shall come to iudge the world, there scarcety shall be found any faith upon the earth.* A heauie censure of these times of ours; but yet that prophetic of his is notably confirmed by the testimony of his owne disciple in this place. For the Apostle foretelling in the beginning of this chapter, what the state and condition of the world shall be, in this last and worst age of it; hee numbrell vp sinnes and iniquities so fast, and packeth them so close together, that a man would indeede thinke it were vtterly vnpossible, for so excellent a plant as the vertue of faith is, to spring and grow vp in so great a throng of vices, which (like noy some weedes) so thicke shall ouerspread the face of the whole earth, and choke vp whatsoever is wholsome in it.

In which catalogue of the Apostle, you may obserue this difference: That all other sinnes are but onely named by

Luke 18.8.

him, a word for sinne, and so away: as though hee hasted forward vnto some greater matter: and so he continueth a short conglobation for the space of foure whole verses together, the foure first of this chapter; *Men shall bee louers of themselves, couetous, proud, boasters, heady, hangbry, treacherous,* and so forth, with as great a *Laconismus*, and as perfect a breuirty as can possibly be deuised: but when he commeth to the sinne of *Hypocrisie*, he doth not so sleightly passe it ouer; but there sets downe his foote; and to the full describeth it: painting out all the guises of these disguised Hypocrites, which in these latter times shall abuse the world, and seduce the simple people with their fained shewes of godlines, being notwithstanding destitute of al the power thereof, as the Apostle expressly and in plaine wordes affirmeth.

Ver. 5.

So that he bestoweth more cost, & more paines, to make vs know this one sinne of *Hypocrisie* alone, then to know all the finnes of the whole world beside. For in them he reciteth but onely their bare names, in a short enumeration, as fast as one word can follow after another: but in this hee representeth the whole and perfect nature, in a long description, continued in foue whole verses together.

The reason of which his paines-taking is this: Because the sinne of *Hypocrisie* is (in some respects) both more hatefull vnto God, and more hurtfull vnto men, then any other sinne in the whole world is. More hatefull vnto God; because (as *S. Augustine* noteth) *Simulata sanctitas, est duplex iniquitas; quia & iniquitas, & Simulatio*: Fained holmes, is double wickednesse: because it bereis both wickednesse and a faining ioyned with it: two finnes bound together, as the wise man speaketh. More hurtfull vnto men; because (as *S. Chrysostome* noteth) *Malum sub specie boni celatum, dum non cognoscitur non cauetur*: Whilest wickednesse is couered with a fained shew of godlines; because it can not be descried; it cannot be declined. And such a sinne is the sinne of *Hypocrisie*: It is indeed true wickednes, which is couered ouer with a false shew of godlines: It is

Aug. in Psal.  
63.

Ecclus. 7. 8.

Chrysost. in  
cap. 7. Matth.

sinne



sinne in a mysterie, as the Apostle *Paul* speaketh: It is masked vngodlinesse; and therefore can hardly be descried.

1. Thes. 2. 7.

For which cause the Apostle (to helpe vs in this point) hath taken great paines to describe this sinne at large, and to represent vnto vs (as it were in an Embleme) the true and perfect nature of those men, which in these latter dayes shall be resisters of the truth, disturbers of the Church, seducers of the people, and opposers of themselues vnto the Prince and ciuill Magistrate, *speaking euill of all those men which are in authority*, as *S. Iude* noteth directly: and yet covering all this foule masse of corruptions vnder a most specious viflar and shew of religion. And this he performeth from the beginning of the fifth verse, vnto the end of the ninth, in fīue whole verses, as before I noted. Of which, though I purpose to insist but vpon one; yet must I pray your licence, to recite them all; that so I may shew you more fully and plainly that whole mysterie of iniquity, which the Scripture noteth vnto vs by the name of *Hypocrisie*. The Apostle in this chapter describeth it in this manner:

Iude 8.

*They haue a shew of godlines; but haue denied the power thereof. Turne away therefore from such. For of this sort are they, that creepe into houses, and lead captiue simple women, laden with sinnes, and led with diuers lusses: Which are euer learning, and yet neuer able to come vnto the knowledge of the truth. As Iannes and Iambres resisted Moses, so doe these men also resist the truth: men of corrupt mindes, and reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall preuaile no longer: for their madnes shall be euident to all men, as theirs also was.* Thus farre extendeth the Apostles description, most graphicall and liuely.

describeth

Vers. 5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

Which discourse of his consisteth of three partes: The first is A definition of the nature of an hypocrite, in the fifth verse of this chapter, which may be thus collected: *An hypocrite is a man that hath a shew of godlines, but yet denieth the power thereof.* A definition so exact and so exquisite in all his partes, that if it were examined by the strictest rules of Logicke, I

doubt whether any could be found more perfect.

The second is *An admonition to decline and auoyde* them; giuen in the person of *Timothy*, vnto all the godly; in the same verse, *Turne away therefore from such*.

The third, is *A description of a double conflict*, which the hypocrite entertaineth with two sortes of people: the first of them with women, in the sixth and seventh verses: the second of them with men, in the eighth and ninth.

In both which his conflicts, the Apostle setteth downe and obserueth foure things: First, who be the persons, whom the hypocrite singlet out to make his incounter with: which (if you marke them) be of contrarie disposition and quality.

His first conflict and incounter, is but onely with women, yea and those also such, as for witte, be *Simple*: for life, *Sinfull*: for capacity *Delish*, and vtterly *Indecible*. For all these *Epithites*, you see in this place to be giuen them: *Simple women, laden with finnes, ouer learning, and yet neuer able to come vnto the knowledge of the truth*. This is the *Hypocritus* beginning, degenerous, and abiect. But his proceeding be of a more elated and lofty spirit. For his second incounter is with *Men*; yea and those no common men: but euery with such persons, as for authority be *Princes*; for vnderstanding, *Prophets*; for integrity of life, Gods principall seruants. For all this is implied in the person of *Moses*, whom, and whose like, those *Hypocritus* doe most ambitiously affect to resist.

So that you plainly see, how quickly such *Hypocritus* will take hart and courage to them: and, if at first they be backed, and but a little fleshed, though it be but by simple sinfull women, they will by and by after not stick to incounter, euery with the greatest men, and of cheefest place, both in the Church and Common-wealth: yea and that, they count their glorie. For (as the Comickall Poet hath very well obserued) *Est stultus thesaurus in lingua sua*, in

the saurus  
in lingua

Plant. Pzrul.  
A&:3. Sec. 3.

quasi

*quisque habeant, male loqui melioribus:* Such men haue a whole treasure of euill words in their tongues: and they commonly bestow them vpon their betters, thinking, so to improve them to their better aduantage. Which quality of theirs, the Apostle Iude likewise expressly obserueth in his Epistle, where he giueh this for one note to know these *Hypocrites* by, that they alwaies be euill speakers, against men in authority. Note such, that you be not deceiued by them.

Iud. 8.

The second thing which the Apostle obserueth in the *Hypocrites* conflicts, is His manner of incomming with both these sortes of people: which is very differing and vnlike vnto it selfe. In this first conflict with women, he *Crespeeth* like a micher: *They creepe into houses.* In his second conflict with men, hee standeth vp like a Souldier: *Arriueray, They stood vp against, euen Moses himselfe.* This may seeme a strange courle, and almost ridiculous, that he should so stoope to women, that is so stout to men; yea and men of place too. But yet, euen herein the hypocrite declareth himselfe to be very wise, in his owne generation: imitating precisely the auncient policie of his Father the diuel; who, that he might winne *Adam*, he layd his battery vnto *Eue*, as Saint *Chrysostome* obserueth, and euen so doth likewise the subtil hypocrite, his sonne: he knoweth well enough, that in gaining of the woman, he commonly gaineth two; he gaineth the husband also, especially if he be an vxorious man: and therefore he still seeketh to lay the foundation of his credit in the minds of women, that so he may be sure to haue *Patrones satis dicentes*, as the Comicke speaketh; that is, such patrones as will prattle enough in his cause, though it be without all reason: which without such submisle, and pleasing behauiour, he could neuer obtaine of them. For it is commonly true, in such friends as women be, that *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit:* Flattering findeth their fauour, but plaine dealing their displeasure. Which as it is generally true in their sex, so is it most specially true in

their

Chrys. hom  
2. de lapsa  
Adx.Plaut. Agm.  
Ag. 3. 50. 1.Terent. Au-  
dria.  
Ag. 1. 50. 1.

Hier. Epist.  
ad Demetriad

men.

rebelliſh.

Hier. apol 3.  
cont. Ruffin.

Terent. Eu-  
nuch. Act. 5.  
Scen. 8.

their ſect. For if once they doe growe to to be ſectaries and humoriſts, they muſt then needs be humored, or els all is marred. And this is the reaſon, why he creepeth ſo to women. *Serpis in paucis, ut perueniat ad plurimos*, as Saint Hierom writeth in an other caſe.

Now on the other ſide, the reaſon why he ſtandeth vp ſo ſtoutely againſt men, yea and men of that high ranke, is to venditate himſelfe vnto his complices, by ſeeming not to be a regarder of mens perſons, be they neuer ſo great, but ſo farre to be poſſeſſed with zeale and ſincerity, as euen to haue neglected the regard of his ſafety, by hazarding himſelfe too farre in ſpeech againſt them. For by this kind of rebelliſh againſt ſuch great men, he expecteth to gaine no leſſe reputation, then by pleaſing the former ſimple women : who (as Saint Hierom writeth, againſt Ruffinus) doe *Procacitatem, diſcretitudinem, & maledicere omnibus, bona conſcientie ſignum arbitrari*: They in their ſortly ſimplicity, doe verily beleeue, that ſuch their procacity, and ſatyrical liberty in reprobuing of great perſons, muſt needs be a ſure argument of the ſincerity of their conſciences. And ſurely you ſhall ſee diuers of thoſe painted hypocrites, who when they haue lauished beyond all bounds of reaſon, of ſobriety and modeſtie, againſt both *Moses* and *Aaron*, that is, againſt both the Ciuill and Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrate, in publike places; yet can they be content to creepe and crouch moſt baſely vnto very ſimple women, in their priuate houſes : much like vnto *Hercules*, who abroad amongſt men, was very fierce and terrible; but within doores amongſt women, he would permit his miſtreſſe to combe his head with her pantoffle : as the Comike ſpeaketh ; *Committigari ſandatio caput*.

The third thing that the Apoſtle obſerueth in the hypocrites conſlicts, is the euent & ſucceſſe of his incountering with thoſe perſons : which is as diuers and vnlike, as his incounter it ſelfe was. For in his firſt conſlict with the

women,

women, he preuailed against them, and led them captiue, as the words of the text shew: *They lead captiue simple women, laden with sinne.* But in his second conflict with those men, he is preuailed against, & himselfe *led captiue* by the Truth, whilst it gloriously triumpheth ouer his detected falsehood: *They shall preuaile no longer, but their madnes shall be euident.*

The fourth and last thing which the Apostle obserueth, is the instrument and meanes whereby this successe is obtained in both conflicts. In his first, he preuailed against those women, because he was able to *lead them captiue* after him, *with diuers lusts.* With diuers: *Glorie, pecuniarum, iactantia, deliciarum, fortassis, & fœdiores concupiscentias signat,* as S. Chrysostome numbred them. In his second, he is preuailed against by those men, because *they are able to lay before him his madnes: Their madnes shall be euident to all men, as theirs also was.* This is the true coherence of this text with the former Scripture; and withall, a short *Epitome* of the generall doctrine of it.

The particulars that we haue to consider in it, may summarily be comprized in these two short *Aphorismes*: First, *That the truth shall alwayes be resisted:* And secondly, *that it shall in a certaine method and order be resisted:* namely after the selfe same manner, that *Moses* was resisted by *Iannes and Iambres.*

For the first of those positions, *That the truth shall be resisted;* he the Apostle heere confirmeth it by two notable instances: the first of them *Historicall,* taken from the former times: *Moses was resisted by Iannes and Iambres,* two notable inchanters: the second of them *Propheticall,* giuen to the latter times: *So shall the truth also be resisted by these men:* that is, inchanting hypocrites. Which two examples the Apostle onely nameth, not for lacke of other store; for the continued succession of *Romane Bishops* (which is so much stood vpon) hath beene oftener interrupted, and for longer

Chrys. hom. 8.  
in 2. Tim.

the.



space, then the succession of Heretickes, and Schismaticks, and such like resisters of the truth hath beene, as appeareth by *Chronologists* and writers of stories. But he setteth down these two by way of *Synecdoche*, putting a part for the whole, and a few examples for a many, to avoyd prolixity. In which few notwithstanding, by this his comparing of the first times with the last, and of that which hath beene, with that which shall be, this appeareth to be an irrefragable *Axiome*, that *The truth shall alwayes be resisted*.

1. Tim. 2.7.

For first, if we take the name of *Truth*, in his largest and most extended sense, for the generall *speaking of the truth*, as the Apostle *Paul* doth in his former vnto *Timothee*, *I speake the truth in Christ Iesus, and lie not*: the truth in this sense is so commonly resisted, that it passeth in euery mans mouth as a common prouerbe, that *Veritas odium parit*: *The reward of speaking the truth is onely hatred*. Of which vnequall measure the Apostle *Paul* complaineth vnto the *Galatians*: *Am I therefore* (saith he) *become your enemy, because I haue spoken the truth vnto you?* And our Sauour Christ likewise vnto the Iewes: *Ye goe about to kill me, a man that haue spoken the truth vnto you*.

Gal. 4.16.

Iohn 8.40.

Secondly, if we take the name of *Truth* in a particular and more restrained sense, for the truth of Gods religion, and the doctrine of his word, as our Sauour Christ doeth in the Gospel of *S Iohn*, *Sanctifie them with thy truth; thy word is truth* (in which sense I take it to be taken in this place:) the *Truth* is in this sense, so naturally resisted, by all that are not the *Truthties* owne naturall children, that *Tertullian* hath giuen vs this generall obseruation: *Simulacrum apparuit veritas, inimica esse cepit*: *The truth* (saith he) *no sooner peeped out and appeared, but by and by it began to be hated*: yea and that by two contrarie sorts of people, as hee noteth in that place: *Extranei, à quibus quotidie obdetur*: and *proprii, à quibus quotidie produuntur*. The first sort of those resisters of the truth, are strangers and aliens from the

Iohn. 17.17.

Tertul. Apo.  
cap. 7.

common

common wealth of Israel : such as openly professe, not onely the resisting, but also the vtter subuerting of it ; such as were *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Antiochus* in the time of the law ; the persecuting Emperours in the time of the Gospel ; and the Turke in our time ; professed and sworne enemies, not onely of the faith, but also of the very name of *Christians*. The second sort of those resisters of the truth (and they much more dangerous) are dissembling Hypocrites, of whom this text more properly speaketh : such as pretend to assise the truth, but intend to resist it ; by secretly supplanting it, and planting manifold errors vnder the name of it. Of which sort of persons, the Apostle *Paul* foretelleth vs, that euen of our selues, there shall such memorise, speaking peruerse things, to draw disciples after them. Such as doe *veritatem non veritate docere*, as *S. Augustine* speaketh : *They sometimes speake the truth, but seldome truly* : which is a peruerse thing : for as *Tertullian* noteth in the forealleadged place ; *Ne tunc quidem cum aliquid veri afferunt, sine mendacii vitio sunt* : They seeke to deceiue, euen whilest they speake the truth ; because they speake the truth but with a lying heart, as they did in *S. Pauls* time, who preached the truth but onely for contention ; and a many like in our time, who oftentimes abuse the speaking of the truth, but onely to the venting of some priuate affection : which preuicating kind of speaking of the truth, is indeede nothing els but a resisting of the truth : it is nothing els but only *ars fallendi*, *ut per bona, facilius persuadere possint mala*, as *Vincentius Lirinensis* noteth : that is, an *Arte of deceiuing* ; that so vnder the countenance of a few smaller truths, they may bring the better credit to a many greater errors.

Of which hypocriticall resisters of the truth, there be two diuers kinds. The first of them are such as hold the truth in small things, but resist it in greater matters, as euen now I noted : such as were false Prophets in the time of the law, and deceitfull heretikes, in the time of the Gospel : both which the Apostle *Peter* yoaketh together in

properly

AQ. 20. 30.

Aug. lib. 4.  
de doct.  
Christ.  
cap. 27.

Philip. 1. 16.

Vincent.  
cap. 17.

1. Pet. 2. 1.

one sentence: *As there were false Prophets amongst the people, so shall there be also false teachers amongst you, which prively shall bring in damnable heresies.*

1. Cor. <sup>1</sup>10.  
1. Cor. 11. 18.

The second sort of hypocriticall resisters of the truth, doe seeme to be cleane contrarie vnto the former: for they hold the truth in greater matters, but resist it in smaller: about which (notwithstanding) they stirre vp no small stirres. Such as the Church calleth *Schismatickes*, who contend for trifles, as it were for life and lims, making a great conscience where they should not, but none at all where they should: as diuers men amongst vs doe; who for *Cappes*, and *Surplices*, *Holy daies*, and *Crosses*, and such like smaller matters, belonging only vnto order, & external regiment, haue made in our Church a dangerous faction and rent: making head against their heads, and crying out like vnto *Libertines*, (or rather indeede like seditious *Tribunes*) that all our Christian liberty is vtterly betraied, because in these matters the priuate fantasie of euery idle head may not countermaund the authority of a publike law: and yet couering all this their grosse disobedience vnder an outward cloake of religion and conscience.

Rom. 13. 5.

But howsoever those men may seeme to please and applaud themselves, in making a conscience to resist the Magistrate, whom the Apostle *Paul* commandeth them euen for *Conscience*, to obey: yet sure I am of this, that Saint *Augustine* is so farre from allowing of this their disobedience to be conscience, that he openly pronounceth it to be indeede nothing els, but onely a true resisting of the truth: *Cum nisi ipsi veritati resistitur* (saith he) *cum regi, ex veritate iubenti, resistitur*: *What doe men resist, but onely the very truth, when they resist the lawfull commandement of their Prince? A wise and a true censure.*

Aug. li. 3. cont.  
Epist. Parmenian.

Thus you see: that the truth shall surely be resisted, both by many men, and by many meanes. And therefore, no man ought to be so weak minded, as to cal the truth of the

truth

truth in questiō, because he seeth it to be resisted, or heareth it to be boldly contradicted. For (as S. Hierom truly noteth) *Hec est conditio veritatis, ut eam semper inimicitie persequantur:* This is the state, yea, and the fate, of the truth, that it alwayes shall be persecuted by the tongues of his enemies. And this contradiction against it, is one speciall note to know it. And therefore the speaking against the truth, (though with neuer such confidence and vndertaking) yet ought not either to scandalize or discourage any man, which truly and sincerely seeketh after the truth. Because if you examine the reasons of such contradictors, (as euery wise Christian ought to doe) you shall find them *Most deceitfull vpon the inaightes, yea and altogether lighter then vanity it selfe.* As notably appeared in that renowned Conference, which was held for the reducing of our resisters of the truth: wherein all the great chalenges of their greatest vnderakers, were found to be iust nothing, but swolne and windy bladders; *Bullate nuga*, as the Poet speaketh. This briefly for the first position, *That the truth shall alwayes be resisted.*

Let vs now come to the second: *How the truth shall be resisted:* which (as you see) must be done, by a kind of patience; *As Moses was resisted by Iannes and Iambres.*

Let vs therefore now examine, who this Iannes and Iambres were, and after what manner they resisted Moses: for it is not thoroughly agreed vpon by all expositors.

Some take this Iannes and Iambres, to be Corah and his consorts, who resisted the authority of Moses in the wilderness. Now the manner after which they resisted him, was this: they being high minded and ambitious persons, and euen burnt vp with enuie of other mens honours and preferments, which they themselves affected, and thought themselves more worthie of, if they might be their owne Iudges, they made a great Schisme, and a dangerous commotion about the rule and authority of Moses and Aron: and so gathering a great companie of their owne condition

Hier. in cap. 4.  
ad Galat.

1. Iohn 4. 1.  
Psal. 62. 9.

Perfius. Sa-  
tyr. 4.

Aret. in 2.  
Tim. 3.

Num. 16 3.

Joseph lib. 4.  
Antiquit. cap.  
2.

Ver. 8, 9.

Companions.

and quality, they intended flat rebellion, if God himselfe had not stayed them: telling *Moses* and *Aaron*, that they took too much upon them, in making themselves *Lordes* over the rest of their brethren. And adding this, for a reason; that the whole congregation, was as holy as they, and that God was with one man, as well as with another. Yea and one of their grand exceptions was this (as *Josephus* reporteth) that they did, *Sacerdotium absque Populi suffragio gerere*: That they were not elected to their places by the people: though they could not be ignorant, but that they both had beene elected by God himselfe before. So that the maine ends which especially they aymed at, were principally two, *Parity*, and *Popularity*: the two deadly banes of all good order, and of ciuill policie, and the beaten pathes to confusion and Anarchie.

In which their commotion, this is worthy the noting: that those great reformers, which sought thus to pull downe both *Moses* and *Aaron*, as two usurpers, sought to set vp themselves into the selfe same places, as *Moses* directly objecteth vnto them: *Seemeth it a small thing* (saith he vnto *Corah*) *that God hath severed thee from the multitude of Israel, and all thy brethren, the sonnes of Levi with thee, and do ye also seeke the office of the priest?* Marke, the *Leuites* cry out against pride and ambition of *Priests*; as certaine malecontented Ministers doe likewise against *Bishops*, whom God hath made their rulers: but what is the drift and end of such their declamations? onely that which was theirs: that these being displaced, they might creepe into their roomes. So that it is not humility, but it is another pride, which driueth such men, so hotly to declame against pride. And this was the resisting of *Iannes* and *Iambres*, in the former times, if by them be meant *Corah*, and his mutinous companions.

Let vs now looke downe into these latter times, and see whether the truth hath not beene resisted, after the selfe

same



same manner with vs heere at home, that it was then with him. Haue there not stood vp amongst vs, certaine ambitious and seditious *Coraks*, of the tribe of *Leui*, who burling with enuie at the honour and preferment of the reuerend Fathers and Gouvernours of our Church, who sit in *Moses chaire*, haue both by word and writing indeauoured to resist them, and thereby to extenuate, or rather indeede exterminate all their lawfull authority and iurisdiction, vnder the pretence of a new reformation? Haue they not told them plainly, that they take too much vpon them, in setting vp themselves aboue their fellow Ministers, who ought to be al equalles? 2. Haue they not brought for themselves the same allegation that those seditious persons did, that *al the people of God are holy, and that euery Minister is as good as a Bishop, and ought to haue as great authority as he*? Is it not one of their chiefest greeuances, that the election of Ministers is not subiected vnto the peoples suffrages, who are their great masters, and whom they seruilely obserue with all addicted obsequiousnes? Haue they not made as great and as dangerous a schisme in this our owne Church, about these matters, as euer the other did in the Church of the Iewes? And (that which is the prime point of all the rest) doe not their owne writings declare, that all that rule and authority which they would take away from our reuerend prelatie, they would assume againe, and cunningly conuay vnto themselves, vnder the name of the *Presbyterie*? All this is more then manifest, vnto men of any reach if they haue but with halfe an eye lookt into the peremptoric dealing and practise of their presumptuous *Consistorie*, and of that enormous and vnlimited claime, which it layeth vnto all authority, both Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill.

But the same God which denied successe vnto that *Schisme*, hath also restrained the proceedings of this: (his name be praised for it:) for the very ground & foundation whereupon these men builded their imaginarie *Babel* and

towers

towers in the aire, hath begunne long agoe, to sinke vnder their feete, as it did with those mutiners: so that a great part of them are swallowed vp by it; and the rest are fast following vnto the center of *Schisme*: onely the cry of a few of the hindmost may still be heard amongst vs, as they are in sinking downe: which can not much longer be irksome and tedious. because they be in the way to silence. And thus much for the former application of this storie, if by *Iannes* and *Lambres* bee vnderstood *Corah* and his seditious companie.

Now other expositors (and those the greater number) doe expound this otherwise: affirming this *Iannes* and *Lambres*, to be those two Egyptian forcerers which resisted *Moses* in the presence of King *Pharao*. Now the manner after which they resisted him, was this: When as *Moses* & *Aaron* were sent into Egypt to deliuer the Israelites from their flauery and bondage, they auouched to King *Pharao*, that *The Lord God of Israel* had sent them on that message; and for the prooffe of their assertion, they confirmed their Ambassage by diuers signes and strange wonders, which could not be wrought, but by the finger of God. Against whom there stood vp this *Iannes* & *Lambres*: two brethren against two: and they vndertooke that all their signes and wonders were but meere soppistricall, and that themselues (by inchantments) could doe as great things as any they had done.

In which their incounter, they seemed (in three miracles) to haue gotten a kind of conquest and victorie ouer them: In turning their roddes into serpents; in bringing in of frogges; and in changing their water into blood: all which those inchanters did, as well as the Prophets.

Vpon which accident, a learned Father hath allegorized in this manner: *This threesfold attempt of these forcerers against Moses shadoweth out a threesfold engine, whereby the truth shall be resisted in these latter dayes. First, by the subtilty of serpents:*

*Secondly,*

Hugo Cardinalis.

Secondly, by the garrulity of frogs: and thirdly, by the cruelty of blood. By all which meanes indeede the truth hath beene resisted, even in these our dayes, as well as in his: as if we shall but call to mind the proceedings of those Hypocrites, which have resisted our *Majesty* we may well perceiue.

For first, as concerning the subtilty of Serpents. The Serpents policie is this: when hee seeketh to creepe and winde himselfe into any place, he will first beginne to trie whether he can wrest in his head: which if he can effect, he will by and by draw his whole body in after it: and euen so those subtle and those venomous Serpents, which haue of late so stung this worthie Church of England, and like a cruell generation of Vipers, haue gnawne euen in sunder the bowels of their mother, they began their pretended reformation at the first but with a few smaller matters.

All was well a great while, but the cap and the surplice: whilst the Serpent had thrust and wrung in his head; but when he saw that this was hearkned to a while, then drew he in a greater part of his body: then was our whole *Leitourgy* nothing but a masse of corruptions; & our Communion booke nothing but a *Compendium* of the *Masse booke*. When this was listned to a little, then must the whole forme of our Church gouernement be changed: for our Clergie were nothing but an *Antichristian* hierarchie. Heere the Serpent had wrested in almost all his whole body. When this a while had beene admitted, then by and by after was our Church counted no Church, but a companie of reprobates, and a very denne of theenes. No Church, no Word, no Sacraments amongst vs, as there ought to bee. Our Priests, they were counted but for idle Priests, and our people; they not counted, as a flocke of Christs sheepe, but as a herd of filthy swine; for euen vnto this height and extremity of madnesse haue some of our reformers grown, vpon the same grounds and principles that the first refor-

*Doll = priest*

*101*

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mers laid downe, as their owne maine foundations.

And this is the bringing in of the Serpents very taile. For the taile doth not follow the head more naturally then this conclusion followeth vpon their premisses, if they once be admitted: as they that be learned do right well vnderstand.

a. Tim. 2. 17.

And now I permit it vnto your owne iudgement and wisdom, to consider, whether these be not the men of whom this Apostle speaketh in the chapter next before; *that their words shall spread and frette like a canker*: which eateth further and further, vntill it haue eaten and consumed the whole body, as this doctrine of these men hath the bodie of our Church, vntill at last they haue brought it (as you see) to be no Church.

Isai. 9. 14.

And surely these men be indeede the very *Gangrens* and *Cankers* of our Church, which will neuer leaue fretting vntill they be cut off (the proper cure of that euill) though neuer so many medicines be applied vnto them, as we see by experience. And therefore that those fierie Serpents may be rightly charmed, it is almost necessarie, that (as the Prophet *Isai* speaketh) *both head and taile of them bee cut off*: and that the rod of *Aaron*, that is, of the Magistrate should euen eate them vp, as it did the Serpents of *Iannes* and *Jambres*; otherwise they will neuer leaue both hissing and stinging.

Dangerous  
positions.  
lib. 2. cap. 11.  
12, 13.

I speake not this to exasperate authority against such as be cureable, nor to stirre vp against them any cruell persecution; of which they still complaine: though indeed they themselues be the true persecuting *Ismaels*: who (for lacke of greater power) doe still infest their brethren with all the severall kindes of verball persecution; *Slandring, Scuffling, Threatning, Railing, Libelling*, and what not? But yet for all that, I wish that this cutting-off might be such (if it may be) as our Saviour Christ himselfe exhorteth vs vnto, when he willet vs to cut off our hands; and our fete, that is, so to

seuer

seuer the vice, or the error, that wee may saue the member. But if this fretting canker haue so farre possessed them, that they be growen incurable, then is it neither against *Policie*, nor yet against *Charity*, for the safety of the whole, to cut off such festered and infected partes: but rather, it is great cruelty not to doe it. As notably appeareth, euen in the Apostle *Paul* himselfe; whose *Charity*, though it were so exceedingly abounding, or rather indeede ouerflowing, that he wished euen himselfe to be cut off, for the sound parts of the Church: yet for those cancred and infected parts, which tended vnto the destruction of the whole, (being in very deed, rather *Vlcera*, then *membra*) he wished, on the other side, *Vnam abscindantur, qui vos inquietant: Would God they were euen cut off, who seeke to disquiet you.* Whose godly example, is patronage enough: it making both a wise and a necessarie distinction betweene true Christian charity and vaine foolish pity, of which the Orator truly writeth, that *Salutaria clementia vincit inanem speciem clementia: Wise and wholesome seuerity, is far more profitable, then that vaine and foolish pity.* And this breuely for the first engine of those enchanting hypocrites, wherby they haue indeuoured to resist the truth: which is, *The subtiltie of serpents.*

The second, is the croking and garrulity of frogges, as that Father termeth it, by which meanes they haue likewise attempted to resist it. For when that old serpent, the deadly enemy of the Church, found that by open oppugning it he could not preuaile against it, he spued out of his mouth, a swarme of frogges, as that other serpent did, which we read of in the *Apocalyps*: that is, a frie of yong Schismatikes; who being as bold as the frogges of *Egypt* haue not only infested the whole land with their croking, but haue also climed vp into the chamber of the King, as impudently as they did: yea they haue crauled vpon his sacred person with their dirty feete, and haue crept vp

Marke 9. 43, 45.

Rom. 9. 3.

Gal. 5. 12.

Cic. lib. Epist. ad Brutum. Epist. 2.

Apo. 12. 9.

Spanned

Apo. 16. 13.



into his very crowne, where they haue blotted out the fairest of all his titles, I meane the title of his supremacie, and ascribed the same vnto their *Prophanie*; as their writings shew most plainly.

Yea and being yet more mad, and swelling (like *Esop* frogge) with greater pride of themselves, euen to the cracking of their skinned, they haue challenged to the combat, euen *Moses* and *Aaron*, to dispute the case before the King himselfe, and all the Princes of the land as *Iannes* and *Iambres* did. But being vndertaken, they haue beene found, vpon the trial, to be as blind as bold; and all that they could say to be indeed nothing els, but a *Γρηγορησέ, κραξέ, κραξέ*, as *Aristophanes* speaketh, that is, *A hoarse and harsh croking of unreasonable frogges*. Who though they were at that time, as soundly charmed, by some of our most reuerend and learned *Bishops*, as certaine frogges in *France* were once by Bishop *Regulus*, which haue continued dumbe & silent euer since, like *Scripbian* frogs; yet, our frogs (lesse modest) continue still to trouble the whole land with their croking: as though nothing had euer beene spoken against them. Notwithstanding, that action was both begunne and proceeded in, with as great a solemnity and preparation, as euer was any since the time of great *Constantine*: our *Constantine* himselfe, in his owne royall person, vouchsafing to sustaine the greatest part of the burden; and with admirable dexteritie to confound their garrulity.

The third and last meane, whereby the truth shall be resisted by this brood of hypocrisie is, *The crucke of blood*. Of which although it may truely besayd (Gods name be praised for it) that *As yet we haue not resisted vnto blood*, as it is in the Epistle vnto the Hebrews: yet that must be ascribed, rather vnto Gods most merciful dispensation, then vnto their merciful disposition. For that they intended blood, yea and blood vpon blood, their diuulged libels shew, threatening *Fishes*, and *Clubbes*, and *Bickerings*; that shall

Aristoph in  
Ranis. Act. 1.  
Scen 5.

Marul. lib 3.  
cap. 4.

Suidas.

Heb. 11. 4.

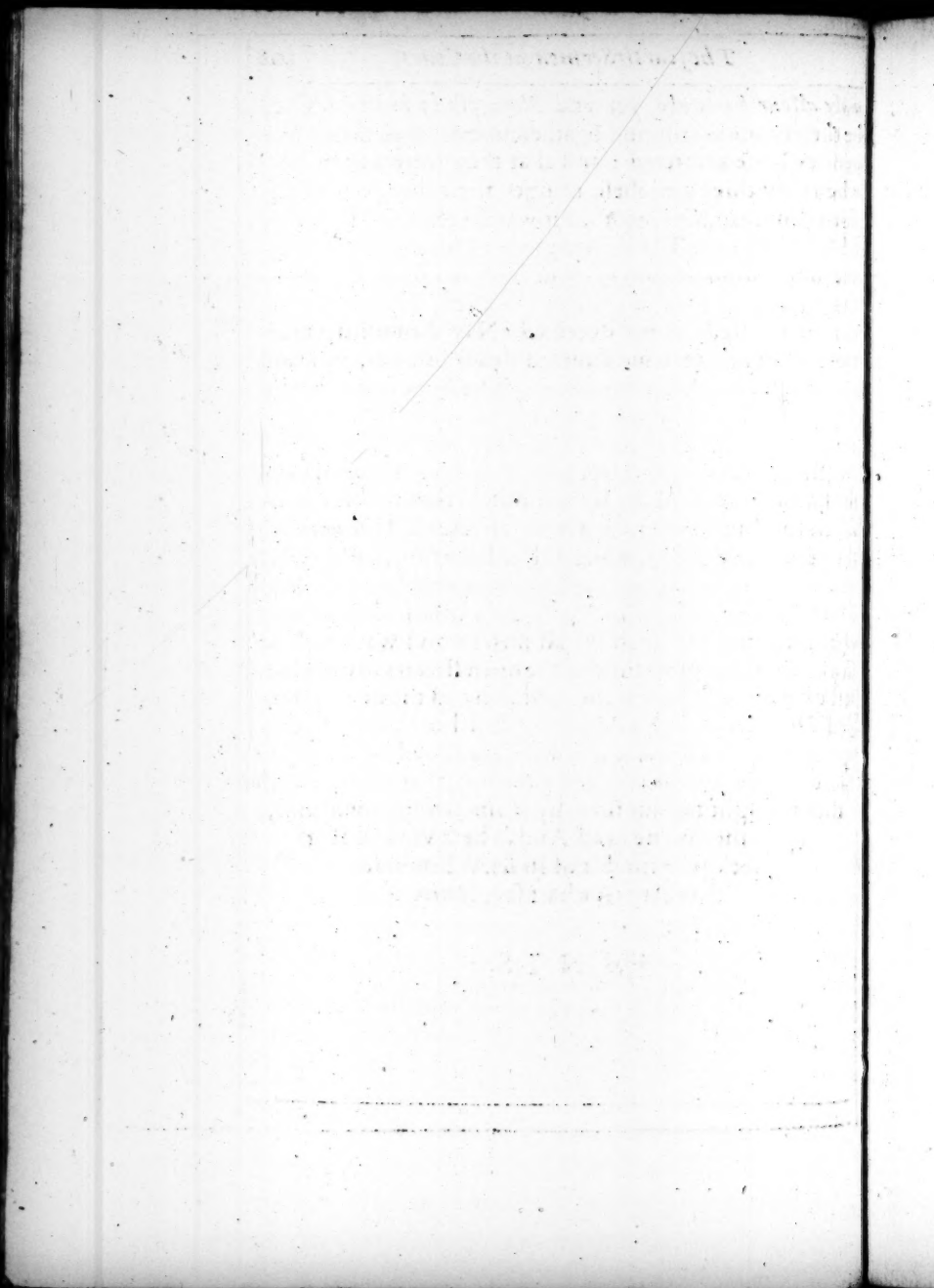
Daug. posit;  
P. 144. 145,  
147, 170.

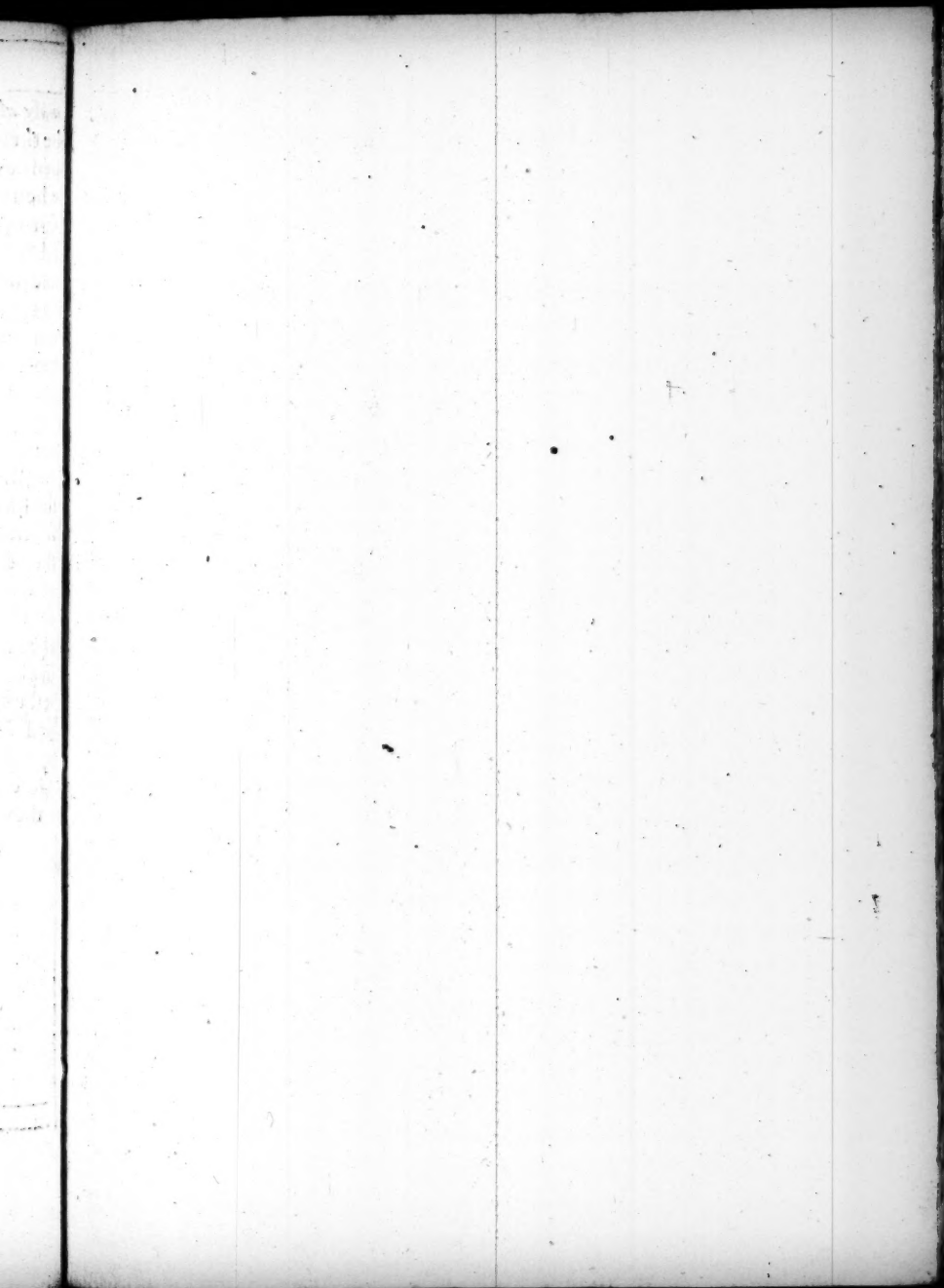
make

make all our harts ake, yea and Blood spilt by butchers. They be their owne words, and I gather no more then their owne pennes haue skattered : and that they were not in least when they threatned these thinges, their owne ouert actions commenting vpon their inward intentions, haue notably declared. Their strength was suruayed; their armie mustred, and found to be an hundred thousand hands strong, as they themselues haue boasted, if happily their muster-maister was not deceiued. Nay the sword was almost drawne, to haue struck a deadly stroke, yea and that euen at our soueraigne head. The signe was giuen by them, and the trumpeters themselues were mounted vp aloft, but it was but in a cart (a worthy chariot for such worthlesse persons) but yet euen there they sounded vnto the battaile, proscribing by name diuers honorable Counsellors, and intending, by a more effectuall *Metamorphosis* then euer *Iannes* and *Iambres* did, to haue turned the water of our riuers into blood. All this is well knowne vnto those that doe remember the furious commotion of *Hacket* and *Copinger*; which (as all men know) was not done in a corner, but proclamed in the open streetes of our chiefe citie, and all this for the furthering of the new pretended *Discipline*. But it pleased the Lord in mercie, to confound their conspiracie, and by the blood of a few to spare the blood of many in powring that blood which they thought to haue shed, by his mercifull providence, vpon their owne head. And so be it vnto all that seeke the trouble of Israel. Whereunto let euery true hart say, *Amen*.

F I N I S.

Ibid. p. 141.





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# An answere vnto certaine obiections, of one vnresolved, as concerning the vse of the Crosse in Baptisme.

*Vestra solum legitis, vestra amatis, ceteros, causa incognita, condemnatis.* Cic. lib. 2. de Nat. Deor.

*Peccat, qui damnat quasi peccata, qua nulla sunt.* Aug. lib. 3. de libero arbitr. cap. 15.

*Primus felicitatis gradus est, non delinquere: secundum, delicta cognoscere.* Cyprian, Cornelio.

## The Obiectors prae face.



*I*rst, I humbly desire, that this may be interpreted, as not done of mee, in derogation of the booke of Common-prayer, which I haue euer vsed with reuerence and respect: nor, of contradiction to the Estate, or opposition to authority, to which I haue euer submitted my selfe. Secondly, in all the time of my forbearance, I would haue it knowne and considered, that I neuer inueighed against it, or condemned others, that did vse it, or dissuaded any from doing it: and carried my forbearance so, as none (or few) espied what I did; vpon care not to be offensive by mine example. My conformity in other things sheweth, that this is omitted, neither contentiously, nor contemptuously.

## Answer.

**F**Or the protestation vsed in this Praeface, I rest charitably perswaded, because it is made, both by one who best knowes what hath beene done in that matter; and by one,

A

who

who ( as I trust ) for the feare of God, would not make any protestation, contrary to his practise.

I likewise desire, that, what I shall write in answer of these obiections, may be held and esteemed, as mine owne free iudgement: begotten in me, onely by an indifferent inquisition into these causes, and not imposed vpon me, by an quer-weening opinion of any mens persons, that haue waded before me in the search of these questions: whose reasons, in many points, I may happily follow, but, their authority without reason, in none at all.

*The first obiection.*

*First, by forbearing it I was sure I did not sinne: by vsing it, I doubted leaſt I ſhould haue ſinned, ſeeing it hath neither word of Chriſt, nor example of the Apoſtles to warrant it: And whatſoener is done doubtfully, is ſinne ſo him that doeth it.*

*Answer.*

As concerning both your positions, deliuered in the ingresse of this first obiection, my iudgement is opposed *ex diametro*, vnto yours. That if you had vsed the signe of the crosse ( it being so inioyned you, by a Christian law ) you might haue beene sure that you had not sinned: but hauing forborne it, you could not but know, that therein you grearly sinned. My reason is this, because, *Sinne is nothing else but a transgressing of the law, either Diuine, or Humaine, where diuine doth not resist it.* And therefore your yeelding obedience vnto such a law, must needs yeeld you assurance, that therein you sinned not. On the other side, your detracting of obedience from such a law, must needs resolue you as fully, that therein you sinned, as you knew assuredly, the law was by you transgressed: both these consequents be grounded

1. Iohn 3. 4.  
1. Pet. 2. 13.

*Detraſſing.*

vpon the Apostles owne definition of sinne, of which you could not be ignorant.

*Ob.* But happily, you will say, that sinne is but onely a transgression of the law of God, and not of the law of man: Such as the crosse is.

*Resp.* I answer, that whosoever disobeyeth the law of man, commanding in things of indifferent nature, he therein transgresseth the law of God, and consequently committeth sinne. For, the Apostle Peter commandeth vs to submit our selues, not onely vnto the law of God, but also vnto the ordinances of man, and that, for the Lords sake. Which place of Saint Peter, eyther giueth the Magistrate commission to command, and inioyneth the subiect submission to obey, in matters of indifferencies, or els is he cleane stript of all power and authority.

*Ob.* But you say: that though you knew it were commanded by law, yet, you doubting still of the lawfulness of it, and taking it rather to be legitimum, then licitum, this doubting, had turned your obedience into sinne.

*Resp.* It is very true indeed: and therefore, I doubt not, but that your very doubting in this case, was your sinne: nay, many sinnes bound together: it being both the effect, and the cause, and the body of sinne in you: The effect, because it proceeded from ignorance of the truth. And againe, because (as a learned Diuine noteth) *Conscientia nimis scrupulosa, nascitur ex vitio, vel naturali, vel acquisito*: the cause of sinne, because it produced disobedience in you, and that vnto a most ancient, and a most generall Christian law: and the body of sinne, because it kept you from assenting vnto the truth: for, in doubting there can be no determination, and therefore no assenting, be the thing whereof wee doubt, neuer so true and certaine. Which suspence and vncertainty in matter of duty, euen the Heathens define to be a great sin. *Qui deliberant vtrū id sequantur quod honestū esse videant, aut se scientes scelere contaminant, in ipsa dubitatione inest facinus*:

1. Pet. 2. 13.

indifferencie

Aspilcuert.

Altenstaig.  
Lex. Theo.

Cic. lib. 3.  
offic.

Rom. 13. 5.

Tertul. lib. de  
Coron. cap. 3.

Note this.

Cic. lib. 5.  
Tusc. Tom. 4

1. Sam. 15. 23.

Rom. 13. 1. 2.

So that, your doubting, was not onely a sinne, but also a sinne out of measure sinfull, corrupting your best actions, and intangling your conscience, with a most vn-avoidable necessity of sinning. If you obey, you sinne against your owne perswasion: if you disobey, you sinne against the law, which you ought to obey, *euen for conscience sake*: an indissoluble knot. Whereby euen your future obedience, (if you shall returne *ad meliorem mentem*) yet will carry this euill with it, as to accuse & condemne your former disobedience. For (as *Tertullian* reasoneth in an other like matter) *Qui hodie non deliquit suscepta corona, deliquit aliquando recuata*. If you do not then offend whē you obserue the crosse, you must needs haue offended, when you refused it. This is the faire fruite of your needlesse scrupulosity, that it maketh one part of your life, to giue in euidence against an other.

Now, if your doubting (as you say) do corrupt your obedience, and turne that into sinne: doe you thinke that it acquiteth your disobedience from sinne? Or can you thinke that it is no sinne, to go against a grounded law, when you thinke it so great a sinne, to go against an vngrounded opinion? I doubt not, but, if these two sinnes were put into *Crisolaus* his ballance, together, your sinne against the law, would appeare much the heauier. For (as *Tertullian* noteth, in the fore-cited place) *Nec nullum, nec incertum videri potest delictum, quod committitur, in obseruationem satis auctoritatem*, such as the crosse is. And, as the Prophet *Samuel* teacheth vs; Disobedience, is as the sinne of witch-craft, which must needs make your sinne against the law (beeing the sinne of disobedience) to be much more greuous, then the sinne against your perswasion, it being but erroneous.

*Ob.* But you will say, that that disobedience which is there so condemned, was disobedience onto the commandement of God.

*Resp.* And I say, that it is the commandement of God, that we should obey the magistrate. *Let every soule bee subiect to the higher powers: For there is no power but of God.*

Who soeuer

Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God. Neither ought we only to obey the magiſtrate in thoſe things which God himſelfe commandeth, but alſo, euen in thoſe which only man ordaineth, as the Apoſtle Peter expreſly teacheth vs. *Submit your ſelues vnto all maner ordinance of man, for the Lords ſake.* Marke, vnto all ordinances of man, not being oppoſed to the ordinances of God, as the crosse is not. Yea, and theſe we muſt obey, euen for conſcience ſake, as the Apoſtle Paul teacheth vs, in the fore-cited place. *We muſt be ſubiect* (ſaith he) *not only for wrath but alſo for conſcience ſake:* which ſentence hath oftentimes made mee to wonder, at the ſtrange miſhapen conſcience of many men in our daies; who make a great conſcience of not obſerving the crosse, and other like ceremonies of the Church, where they haue no ſcripture to guide their conſcience: and yet make no conſcience of breaking Godly lawes which the ſcriptures command them, for conſcience ſake to oblerue.

*Ob.* But you ſay, that this ſigne of the crosse, hauing neither any word of Chriſt, nor example of Apoſtles to confirme & approve it, your conſcience would not ſuffer you, to yeeld obedience vnto it.

*Reſp.* I anſwere, that it hauing againe, neither any word of Chriſt, nor Apoſtles example to infirme and reprove it, this proueth it to be in his owne nature indifferent: and ſo, to be put in the power of the magiſtrate, to command or forbid, as occaſions may induce it. And therefore, it being (out of doubt) by the magiſtrate commanded, no man ought to make a doubt whether it ſhould be obeyed. For (as *Eusebius* obſerueth out of *Plato*) they which be priuate perſons, muſt neither *diſputare*, nor *dubitare de legibus*, but *ſimpliciter parere*. Which branch of *Plato*'s law, he ceſureth to be conſonant to the heavenly law of God. With who, in this point of ſimple obedience conſenteth *Tertullian*, allowing much better of our ſimple obeying then of our ſubtil inquiring into things of this nature. *Laudo fidem* (ſaith he) *qua ante credit obſeruandum eſſe, quam didicis.* The equi-ty of which rule, euen you your ſelfe, and diuers

1 Pet. 2. 13.

Rom. 13. 5

Euseb. lib. 12.  
de præparat.  
Euangel. cap. 1

Tertul. lib. de  
coron. cap. 2



other, by your practice do confesse, in yeelding your obedience to the cap and surplice, and many other ceremonies of our English Church. And therefore I desire but to know some good reason, why you do not the like, to the crosse in baptisme. What commandement of Christ, or what example of Apostles haue you for the surplice? or what speciall warrant and rule for your conscience, saue onely this generall rule of obedience? And therefore you must shew by the commandement of Christ, or example of the Apostles, either that the surplice is more allowed then the crosse, or that the crosse is more condemned then the surplice, or els, you must follow that rule of obedience, as well in the one, as you do in the other, otherwise you shall plainly declare vnto the world, that you play but fast & loose with the name of your conscience: which when you will, is bound, and when you will, is free: hauing so none other rule for it, but onely your owne will, which is a croked rule.

Sum. aurea.

Againe, if your conscience were so scrupulized by your doubting, it must needes bee, because you knew no light of scripture to giue you resolution, either on the one side, or on the other. For, *Dubitatio*, is, in *neutram partem consensio*. Now, you being thus vncertainly poised, why did you rather propend vnto that side, which led you vnto disobedience, then vnto the other, which led you vnto dutiful and Christian obedience? That way which you went, you had nothing to carry you, but only the blast of a windy opiniõ: yea & not that neither, for your opiniõ was not settled: that other way which you left, you had two great waightes to sway you: *viz.* the authority of the law, both spirituall, and temporall, and the practise of the Church, both ancient, and moderne: a very heavy counterpoise, & therefore I wonder, how you could set them so light, especially you hauing no such waighty authority to vncertain you, as the Churches exãple might haue bin to resolue you; which euẽ in this particular case of the crosse, hath both *traditionẽ aũtẽricẽ*, and *consuetudinẽ confirmã-*

Tertul. lib. de  
de coron. cap.  
4.

*triciẽ*

*tricem*: & therefore ought to haue, *fidem obseruatricem*, as *Terullian* in the fore-cited booke obserueth. So that, surely you strained at a gnat, & swallowed vp a Camell, when you were so superstitious in not offending against your own priuate opinion, and so little religious in offending against the Churches publike direction.

*Ob.* But perhaps you will say, that you will not be led by the examples of men, nor pin your conscience vpon other mens sleeues.

*Resp.* I answer, first for the examples of men, that though they be not alwaies to be generally followed, without all exception: nor rashly, without due examination; yet, in scruple of conscience, when wee lack the direction of the word of God, I do not thinke that the breach of law, & contempt of the churches example, is the safest way to keepe a good conscience. *S. Augustine* had so high an estimation of the Churches example, that, in the maine foundation of all religion, that which led him especially vnto a resolution, was the example & authority of the Church *Ego vero* (saith he) *Euangelio non crederem, nisi me catholica ecclesia comoneret authoritas*. This great opinion had he of the Churches example, that in a matter of greatest waight, it preuailed more with him to gaine his assent, then any other reason, or argumēt could do. And therefore, in such intricate and doubtfull suspension, hee giueth vs this good rule for our direction. *Qua vera perspexeris tene: qua falsa, respue: qua dubia crede: donec aut respondeat esse, aut sepe credenda, vel ratio doceat, vel auctoritas precipiat*. A very sound rule, & fit to be obserued in euery Church, by al the particular members of it: wherein he prescribeth no more vnto vs, thē he had subscribed vnto himself, as euidently appeareth out of the former place: whose iudgment & practice concurring both togither, ought not be so lightly esteemed of vs, especially, we hauing, in this case of the crosse (beside his authority, & the example of the Church) both *rationem docentem*, and *authoritatem precipientem*, either of which (in his iudgment) were sufficient argumēt to lead vs to obedience.

Look: Caluin, lib. 4. Inst. cap. 1. Sec. 10.

Aug. lib. cont. Epist. fundam. cap. 5.

Aug. lib. de vera relig. cap. 10.

*Ob.*

*Ob.* But you say, you will not pin your conscience vpon other mens sleeues.

*Resp.* I answer, that in matters of faith, where you may haue the light of the holy Scripture for your full instruction, it is not simply good to pinne your conscience vpon the sleeues of men, though how farre Saint *Augustine* did yeeld, euen in this case, I haue before declared. But, in matters of order and obedience (such as the obseruation of the crosse is) the scriptures themselues do pinne your conscience vnto other mens sleeues. For, in things indifferent commanded for orders sake (where the authority of the Magistrate goeth before) there the conscience of the subiect ought to lead him after, as if it were pinned vnto the Magistrates sleeue, by the concurring iudgements of the two chiefe Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, of whom, the one cominandeth vs, to submit our selues to all ordinances of men, for the Lords sake: the other, to obey them, euen for conscience sake. Therefore (to shut vp this first obiection) I conclude with *Plato*: *Si positioni non credis, reprobare debes: Si reprobare non potes, positioni credes.* Either prooue you that the crosse is a thing against conscience, or else, yeeld obedience vnto it, for conscience sake.

1. Pet. 2. 13.  
Rom. 13. 5.

Plato in The-  
aret.  
Credas.

#### The second obiection.

*Whereas, order, and comlineesse, are the grounds of such things as the Church may adde; I haue doubted that this signe exceedeth both these, because there is giuen it a spirituall signification, of our valour in confessing Christ boldly.*

#### Answer.

The signe of the crosse, as we now vse it, is neither against comlineesse, nor against good order, but very consonant vnto both; euen by *Caluines* owne description of comlineesse and order: and therefore (by your owne rule grounded vpon

Instit. lib. 4.  
cap 10. Sect.  
28. 29.

Saint

Saint Paul) may lawfully be added and vsed by our church. Now, if ( besides these two forenamed commodities ) it haue also a third, to wit, a spirituall signification, yea and that such a one, as hath not onely beene allowed, but also *affected* in the primitiue church, this ought not to debarre the vse of it amongst vs, but rather, to interre, that it ought to be in vse. For the very same Apostle which prelcibeth the two former rules, of order and comlineffe, in the very same chapter prescribeth a third, of greater importance then they both, to wit, that they tend vnto edification. And except our ceremonies be thus conditioned, they ought not in any Christian church to be vsed: as *Caluine* himielfe noteth: *Totum obseruationum usum & finem, ad ecclesia adificationem referamus*, saith he: referring not onely their intended end, but also their dayly vse, vnto the edification of the church.

*Ob.* But you say, that to haue a spirituall signification, is to exceede the nature of a ceremonie, and to draw it vnto a higher quality: Perhaps you meane, vnto the nature of a sacrament. For that is T. C. conceipt, from whom ( *I gesse* ) you borrowed it.

*Resp.* But therein you greatly mistake the matter. For, not onely Sacraments, but also ceremonies too, ought to haue their spirituall signification, of which if they be destitute, they vtterly degenerate into vaine and idle gesticulations: neither is there any reason, why such should haue any place in the Church. The Apostle saith of ceremonies, that they be shaddowes of things to come; of good things; and of heavenly things. Saint *Hierom* saith, that they be not onely shaddowes, but also eminencies too: hee calleth them, *imagines* and *exemplaria futurorum*; which ought no lesse to bee obserued in our Christian ceremonies, then it was in the Iewish. For as Saint *Augustine* obserueth) *Whoso- euer obserueth any ceremonie or signe, and not vnderstandeth what thing it doth signifie, hee doth seruire sub signo, hee is a slave & a seruant vnto the outward signe: but he that obserueth*

Tertul. lib. de  
Coron. cap. 3.

1. Cor. 14. 26.  
40.

Caluin. lib. 4:  
Instit. cap. 20.  
(c. 32.)

Whigift. p.  
190. *gheff*

Col. 2. 17.  
Heb. 8. 5. &  
10. 1.  
Hier. in Galat.

Aug. lib. 7.  
cap. 9. de doct.  
Christiana.

Cal: lib: 4. In-  
stit cap: 10.  
sect: 14.

Ibid:

Cerimonie.

Pet: Mart.  
Epist ad Hoo-  
perum.

1. Cor: 11. 5.  
7. 10.

Ephes: 5. 22.

it, knowing the signification of it he serueth not the signe, but the thing whereunto it is referred. Yea and Calvin allowing ceremonies in all christian Churches, requireth these three conditions in them: that they haue, *In numero paucitatem: In obseruatione facilitatem; and in significatione dignitatem.* So that both *Augustine* and *Calvin* do make this spirituall signification, (of which you doe seeme to be so greatly afraid) to be in all ceremonies a necessary condition. And therefore *Calvin* reproveth the ceremonies of the Papists, not for hauing a signification, but for the darknes & obscurity of their signification, comparing them, in that place, *ad scenam histrionicam*, and *ad magicam incantationem*, for this onely reason, because they be, *Cerimonia non intellecta*. And, in the conclusion, giueth this generall censure of them, *Illas omnes ceremonias corruptas esse, et noxias; per quas homines ad Christum non diriguntur*, so that hee maketh Christ to bee the body of our ceremonies, as well as of the Iewish, & not onely alloweth, but also exacteth a signification of them. The like doth also *Peter Martir*, in his epistle to Bishop *Hooper*, being troubled (as it seemeth) with this selfe-same scruple, that you are, *Quomodo* (saith he) *prinabimus ecclesiam hac libertate, ut non possit suis ritibus aliquid significare?* And, he bringeth in the same place, a most pregnant example, out of the Apostle *Paule*, which confirmeth his iudgment. For he not onely commandeth wiues to be subiect to their husbands, by direct precept, but he also ordaineth, that by this significat ceremony they should expresse it, to come alwaies to the Church with their heads conered. In which ceremony, as you see, beside comelines and order, he hath a respect, to a Godly signification: finally, the most Diuines that I haue redde (beside comelines and order) require in all ceremonies, that they tend directly vnto edification. Now edifie they can not, vnles both they haue a signification, and that signification be likewise vnderstood. Vnkowne ceremonies (as vnkowne tongues) cannot possibly edifie, if by interpretation they be

not



not made knowne. Yea euen the Reformers themselues require this properly in all their ceremonies. *Caluin* saith, that *Ceremonie* must be *pistatis exercitia*, *que ad Christum eccle nos deducant*. *Goulartius*, in his Annotations vpon the 74. Epistle of Saint *Cyprian*, to *Pompeius* saith, that *Rites and ceremonies* must alwaies haue regard, not onely of order, but also of edification too. Yea and euen *T. C.* himselfe (forgetting the danger, which (before) he fained, of making ceremonies, sacraments, if they had any signification) yet else-where yeeldeth that they ought to haue it. For in one place he affirmeth, that (beside the ends by you named, of comelines and order) they ought to be done vnto edification, making this a distinct head from those two fore-mentioned. Whereby it is euident, that he intendeth that ceremonies should otherwise edifie, then onely by their comelines and order. Which they cannot do without a signification. In an other place he affirmeth, that *Ceremonies* ought to be helpers, to promote the *Doctrine of the Church*, which how they should do I know not, if they signifie not. & therefore the *Authors* of the admonitiō doubt not, to adde to their ceremonies a signifiatiō. For they would abolish kneeling for popery, and establish sitting at the communion, adding this for a reason: because *sitting* doth better expresse the *mystery* of *Christs* holy supper. Because, by sitting, we signifie rest, and a full finishing of all leg. ill ceremonies in *Iesus Christ*. So that they neuer doubted that the adding of a signifiatiō vnto a ceremony, would be the institutiō of a new sacrament: belike this conceit of yours was not the hatched. How these men agree with *Cartwright*, or he with *Caluin*, yea or with himselfe, I leaue for those men to reconcile who it most concerneth, and who haue found in their consciences the incōuenience, of following his yngrossed fantasies: but if our reformers do not corrupt the supper of *Christ* by adding a significant ceremony vnto it; why should we be thought to corrupt the *baptisme* of *Christ*, by adding a like significant signe vnto it. Therefore by all the fore-cited both reasons

Cal: lib. 4. In-

stit cap: 10.

Sect: 29.

exercitia

resta

Ciprian, Pom-  
peio.

Page: 8.

Whitgift. 86.

278.

399.

mysterie

Aug. epist. ad  
Iannar. 119.  
cap. 19.

and authorities it appeareth, that it is no sinne in a ceremonie, to haue a signification, but rather, a folly, if it lack one, as Saint *Augustine* truly teacheth vs: *Who maketh it a sufficient reason, why the Church should reiect them, when they see no sufficient reason, why it did accept them: as they cannot in those ceremonies, that bee brutish and insignificant, what reason can bee alledged, why any such should be accepted?*

### The third obiection.

Monumentum,  
quasi monens  
menrem.

*Seeing our church, according to the Scriptures, hath abandoned all monuments of superstition: and the signe of the crosse in baptisme, is apt to breed a present remembrance of that horrible idolatry committed by it, in the synagoge of Rome: I haue doubted how we can retaine it, for perill of falling into idolatry.*

### Answer.

For the preamble of this third obiection, *That our church hath abandoned all monuments of superstition*, it is a very true position: and therefore that the crosse (as our church vseth it) should bee a monument of superstition, implyeth a contradiction.

The rest of this obiection is so loose and vntruessed, that I see not how it should bee to your purpose ad-apted. But (if you will admit of my diuination) I gesse that this must be your reason.

*Whatsoeuer is dangerous to lead vs to idolatry, that ought to bee auoyded in the seruice of God: But the signe of the crosse in Baptisme, is such, Ergo.* The proposition of which argument you taking for granted, bestow your whole prooffe vpon the Assumption, which you strengthen by this reason.

*Whatsoeuer is apt to breed a remembrance of the horrible idolatry committed by it in the Synagoge of Rome, that is*

*dangerous*

dangerous to lead vs vnto idolatry. But the signe of the crosse in baptisme is such, ergo.

In these two Syllogismes (as I conceiue it) is the whole strength and force of this obiection contained: let vs therefore examine the seuerall partes, as well of your Protosyllogisme, as of your Prosyllogisme.

First therefore, for the proposition of your former Syllogisme; that, whatsoeuer is dangerous to lead vs to idolatry, that ought to be auoided in the seruice of God. This word [Dangerous] is a word of ambiguous signification, importing either that, which naturally and necessarily carrieth danger with it: or, that which onely casually, and accidentally may giue some occasion of danger by it. In both which senses this word Dangerous is vsed in one sentence, in the scripture: where, *Demetrius* speaking against the doctrine of *Saint Paul*, he saith, that it is Dangerous, not only to bring the state into reproofe, but also to bring the temple of their goddesse into contempt. To the latter of these purposes the doctrine of *S. Paul* was naturally dangerous, yea, and necessarily too, viz: to the bringing of their temple into contempt, because hee taught, that they were no gods which were made with hands: but, to the other purpose, of reproofing the state, or, of taking away the gaine of their art, it was but only accidentally dangerous. So that *periculosum* (as *Bonauentura* teacheth) may either be taken as *Causa periculi*, or els, but onely, as *Occasio periculi*. Now, to apply this distinction vnto our purpose,

If you take Dangerous heere in the former sense, for that which is properly and *per se*, as cause of danger; then yeeld I your proposition to be true, that whatsoeuer (in that sense) is dangerous vnto idolatry, it ought to be auoided in the seruice of God. But if you take this word Dangerous in the latter sense, for that which casually and *per accidens*, may bee an occasion of idolatry; then I deny your proposition, as vtterly false. What greater shew of danger could there

This whole  
obiection is  
more fully an-  
swered. pag  
92. 60.

Act. 19, 27.

Lib. 3. dist. 39  
quæst. 1. Lex.  
Theol.

a  
1

Elia. lib. 10.  
de animal.  
cap. 28.

Psal. 106. 10.

1. Kings. 7.  
25.

Aquin. 22. q.  
88. 4. 2.

bee in any thing, then to place the image of an Oxe, in the temple of GOD? especially amongst that people who had both scene an Oxe worshipped for the greatest GOD of Egypt, vnder the name of *Apis*: and, who themselues had worshipped the image of an Oxe for their owne proper God. But yet, because the image of an Oxe was not naturally or necessarily dangerous vnto idolatry (that old corruption being so long forgotten) but onely casually and *per accidens*, if any man (by his owne corruption) should renew it vnto himself: therefore *Salomon* did not thinke himselfe tied by such an accidentall danger, but that he might lawfully set the image of twelue Oxen in the very temple. Neither doe wee read (notwithstanding that probable feare which those images might haue ministred vnto scrupulous consciences) yet that any man abused them vnto idolatry, as no man hath likewise the signe of the crosse, howsoeuer that bee feared, where there is as little cause. Therefore, to the proposition of your former syllogisme, I answer with *Aquinas* in an other like case. *Quando periculum nascitur ex ipso facto, tum factum illud non est expediens. Sed si periculum imminet a nostro defectu, non desinet propter hoc esse expediens. Sicut expediens est ascendere equum, quamuis periculum imminet cadenti de equo: alioquin, oporteret cessare ab omnibus bonis, quae etiam (per accidens, ex aliquo euentu) possunt esse periculosa.* In which sentence of *Aquinas*, I pray you marke these two things. First, that by such casuall danger no action is made so much as vnexpedient, much lesse vnlawfull. And secondly, that if wee should giue place to such accidentall dangers, we could not freely vse the best and most holy actions, which are not to be intermitted, for such fantastical feares.

Now for the assumptio of your former syllogisme: that the signe of the crosse (as our church of England vseth it) is dangerous to lead vs vnto idolatry, that I simply deny. It is neither naturally and *per se*, nor yet casually and *per accidens*, in it selfe any whit dangerous, to lead vs to idolatry, but only,

*in defectu nostro*, as *Aquinas* distinguisheth, after which manner there is nothing but it may be dangerous, be it neuer so good. There is nothing so good, but it is subiect to the abuse of euill and wicked men, no not the scriptures themselves, which is no sufficient reason, why they may not bee well vfed, of good and Godly men.

*Ob.* But you proue, that the crosse is dangerous to lead vs to idolatry, by this reason following.

*What soeuer is apt to breed a remembrance of that horrible idolatry committed by it in the Synagogue of Rome, that is dangerous to lead vs vnto idolatry. But the signe of the crosse is such, Ergo.*

*Resp.* In this argument, both the partes are false. First, for the proposition, there is no coherence betweene the antecedent and the succeeding part of it. Doth euery thing that breedeth a remembrance of any thing abused vnto idolatry, indanger vs to fall into the same idolatry? then were it dangerous to read in the scriptures the seuerall idolatries of the Iewes, least by remembering them, we might be indangered, imitate and follow them.

*Ob.* But you will say, *that these be not pictures, but scriptures, which our Sauiour Christ himselfe commandeth vs to read.*

*Resp.* I answer, that this maketh nothing against our purpose, but, rather much for it. For, in that our Sauiour coman-  
deth vs to read them, his meaning is, that wee should reme-  
ber them, which remembrance he would neuer haue comen-  
ded vnto vs, if he had iudged it to be so dangerous for imita-  
tion as you affirme it is. But, to come to your exception a-  
gainst that kinde of remembrance, which is procured by  
images or pictures. The image of that golden calfe which  
the *Israelites* worshipped, set forth in our *Geneua Bibles*, can-  
not but breed a remembrance of that horrible idolatry, which  
was committed with it, in the wilderness, (this, you see, is a pic-  
ture, & not a scripture) and yet, those reuerend and worthie  
men, who are the authors of that learned translation, of  
purpose set out that picture in their edition, thereby to

2 Pet. 3. 16.

Ioh. 5. 39.

Numb. 33.



imprint the remembrance of their sinne more firmly in our mindes, neuer doubting, that the remembrance of their idolatry would stirre vp our desire vnto like impiety. Neither yet (as I thinke) hath any man beene found, who either by view of that picture, or remembrance of their practice, hath beene led to imitate them in that vice. So that, remembrance doth not alwaies breed a liking of the thing so remembered, but, oftentimes, a loathing.

Cic. Epist. 15.  
Bruto.

There be *monumenta odij*, as well as *Amoris*. To goe no further for instance, but to the signe of the crosse: doe wee not see by experience, that our remembering how the Papists haue abused it, hath stirred vp in many men detestation of it? whereby, the hatred of their abuse hath so blinded their reason, as to breede an abhorring euen of the lawfull vse of it. Which euidently sheweth, the notable incoherence of your *Maior* proposition. and that wee may well remember idolatry, without any danger of falling into it.

Now, for your assumption: *That the signe of the crosse is apt to breed a remembrance of the horrible idolatry, which was committed by it, in the Synagogue of Rome.* If that wee freely granted, yet were not the cause preiudiced: your *Maior* being so weakly founded.

were.

For, what if it gaue vs occasion to remember that ancient idolatry, which by remembering, wee abhorre: doth this make it vnlawfull? or doth it not rather make it good, and profitable? But I see no cause at all why wee should yeeld you so much. For, I pray you, why should our crosse be thought to bee more apt, to breed a remembrance of Popish idolatry, then our Communion-bread is, to breed a remembrance of Popish *Arctolatris*? Or, why should it be thought more powerfull to leade vs vnto the one, then this is, to lead vs vnto the other? Especially, the bread being a materiall & a sensible body, and remayning (for some good space) an object to the eye, whereby it may more easily suggest vnto the

that

minde

minde how it hath in the *Romish Church* bene abused: whereas the crosse, being an immateriall and a vanishing signe, in one and the same moment being both bred, and dead, is neither so fit to instruct, nor so strong to incite vs as the bread is. And yet I do not know, nor euer haue heard, that any man (not being before a Papist) hath by the sight of our bread, bene induced to desire to returne vnto Popery. So little colour of probability is there, that euery one which seeth a crosse made in our baptisme, should by and by remember that former idolatry, which (happily) he neuer saw; yea & not onely remember it but also desire to returne vnto it; there is no likelyhood in this fancy. *But it is indeed a feare, whereas no feare is, as the Psalmist speaketh. Yea it is superstitiosa timiditas, as Saint Augustin truly censureth it: it is indeed to feare superstition, with a superstitious feare.* Now if our crosse be no more apt to renew the remembrance of idolatry, then our bread is, I would know by what rule, the one being receiued, the other should be reiected.

*OB.* Perhaps you will say, that *Bread in the supper is Christs owne ordinance, but the crosse is not so,*

*Resp.* The brazen serpent was Gods owne ordinance, & yet it being abused to idolatry, was iustly abolished. So that if your vrging of this instance be fit, which else where you stand so much vpon, the bread can haue no protection by being *Christs ordinance*, because it hath also bene abused to idolatry.

*OB.* That bread which we vse, was neuer so abused,

*Resp.* No more was that crosse which we vse, euer so abused. But yet if your reason be good, that what-soeuer reneweth the remembrance of the old idolatry, is dangerous to occasion a relapse vnto it, and therefore to be removed from the seruice of God; it holdeth against bread, as well as against the crosse. For that is as dangerous to renew the remembrance of former idolatry, as the crosse is. But indeed this is but a needlesse feare, that there should bee

Psal. 14. 5.  
Aug: Epist.  
118. ad Ianu-  
ar. cap. 20

Page 40- 42.

any such danger in it. For first, why should the seeing of a crosse made, rather moue vs to idolatry, then the hearing of an idoll named? may not the reading of the Lords praier, or of the angelicall salutation, put men in mind as well of their *Pater noster*, and their *Aue Maria*, and of that old superstition which they vsed in both these, as the crosse can of that which they vsed in it? yet, I thinke, you will not thinke it vnlawfull (for this supposed danger) either to read the one, or to say the other: neither doe I thinke it so, to vse the third. For, secondly I demand, who those persons bee, vnto whom this pretended danger can bee intended? are they Protestants? or, bee they Papiſts? The greatest part of Protestants are such, as (for their age) could neuer see or know how the crosse was abused amongst the Papiſts, yea and of those there is a great part, so faire from danger of Poperie, by the vse of this ceremonie, that they are in great danger of an other extremity, condemning the lawfull vse, for the vnlawfull abuse, so that none of them is so slenderly grounded, as by such a weake meanes to bee remooued. The other sort of Protestants, which are more ancient, and so by their age might happily remember it, yet hauing beene weaned this forty sixe yeares from it, and so long trained vp in an other vse of it, there is no shewe of likelihood, that such men should (now on the sudaine) bee so offended at it, as to quit and abandon their religion for it.

Now for the Papiſts, they be such as seldome do come vnto praiers, neuer to our Sacraments, by their owne goodwill: so that, there is small danger of doing them any harme. But if any of them should happen to bee present at our baptism, they may plainly see our crosse, both by the simple vse of the signe, and by the wordes added for exposition of the signe, to bee so vindicated and cleered from their superstition, as there is farre greater danger to harden them in their opinion by our so distant a difference from them,

then

then by our so neere coniunction with them. Finally, the folly and vanity of this needelesse feare appeareth in this point, that in all the space of this fixe and forty yeares, wherein the crosse hath bene vsed amongst vs, there can not bee giuen so much as one instance, of either any Papisst to haue bene confirmed in his Popery, or of any Protestant to haue bene conuerted vnto Popery, by seeing the signe of the crosse, as wee vse it. Some examples may bee giuen of the contemners of the crosse, whome God hath permitted to fall from that error in horrible heresies, as into *Donatisme* and *Brownisme*, but none at all of the obseruers of the crosse, that thereby haue bene brought to fall into *Papisme*. And indeed the feare is altogether as absurd; that the seeing of a crosse made should moue vs vnto Popery, as that the seeing of a wafer-cake should moue vs to idolatry.

into

#### The fourth obiection.

*Seeing wee are forbidden, not onely idolatry, but also idols. 1. Iohn 5. 21. And the signe of the crosse to this day is an idoll. For first, they thinke it a speciall defence against the deuill, and euills: per crucis hoc signum fugiat, &c. Secondly, they blesse themselves, who signe themselves with it: Thirdly, they call men in their congregation to adore it: saying, Ecce signum crucis, venite adoremus, therefore I doubt, how it, (beeing but an humane inuention) may be vsed in the place of Gods worship, and in his holy seruice.*

#### Answer.

This fourth obiection consisteth of two arguments, whereby you would disable the vse of the crosse. The former beeing grounded vpon this position, *that no idoll may be vsed in the*

sylogisme

service of God. The second vpon this; that no inuention of man, hauing once beene abused vnto idolatrie, may euer after bee vsed in the actions of piety. The first of these two arguments may be cast into this sylogisme, No idol may bee vsed in the service of God. But the crosse is such, therefore it may not bee vsed in the service of God, Let vs feuerally examine the partes of this argument,

Iosh. 6. 19.

First therefore as concerning your proposition, I answer, That no idoll, continuing in the nature of an idoll, may lawfully be vsed in the service of God: but if that condition and nature be altered (as it is in our crosse) then may it lawfully enough bee vsed, yea though it were the same *indiuiduum* which before was abused. Example whereof wee haue in the metalls of *Hierico*, which were wholly reserued for the vse of the tabernacle, notwithstanding their abuse in that idolatrous city: wherein it is more then probable, that no little part of them was molten into idols. An other like example we haue in *Gedions* Oxe: where the very same indiuiduall Oxe which first was consecrated vnto *Baal*, was afterwards sacrificed vnto God. Saint *Augustine* in his Epistle vnto *Publicola*, expresseth his resolute iudgement in this point, not *Obiter*, but *ex insituto*, taking vpon him there to decide this very question, & therefore his iudgement ought to haue the greater estimation. There he expressely affirmeth, that it is a thing as lawfull, to conuert an abused idoll vnto the service of God as it is to conuert a seduced man, so that order be taken that it be not worshipped: yea and euen *T. C.* himselte (for all his detestation of idols) yet is not so blindly carried with hatred against them, but that he can see well enough the gold and siluer to be Gods creatures in them: of which his conscience can giue him good leaue to make a priuate vse, notwithstanding the tragicall exclamations of the admonition, and the direct indgement of Saint *Augustine*, vnto the contrary, yea and of *Caluin* too. Nay, hee goeth yet further and alloweth the cappe and surplice,

Iud. 6. 26.

Aug. Epist.  
154.Whitgift pag.  
273.Whitgift pag.  
251.  
282.  
283.

(which



(which the admonition condemneth for idols garments) and he himsele, calleth a wouen image, not onely a priuate, but a publicke and common vse, which, how it wil stand with his other doctrines, it concerneth this disciples to consider.

So that, as concerning your proposition. That *no idoll may be used in the service of God*, you see in what sort it must bee qualified, or els that you haue both *Scriptures*, and *Fathers*, and *Reformers* against you.

*Ob.* But, you proue your proposition, by that place of *Saint Iohn*. *Babes keepe your selues from idols, which (as you say) forbiddeth not onely idolatry, but also idols too.*

*Resp.* I answere, that this place of *Saint Iohn* to keepe our selues from idols, is a *Metonymie* of that subiect, and implyeth no more, but to keepe vs from idolatry, with out which, an idoll (in it selfe) is nothing, as the Apostle *Paul* teacheth vs. To this exposition I am induced by these reasons.

First, because I take it to bee the peculiar opinion of the Mahometanes to condemne all vses of images simply, as you seeme to do by pressing this place. In which opinion I thinke none other sort of men concurreth with them, neither *Christians*, *Jewes*, nor *Pagans*. Secondly, because I finde *Didimus Alexandrinus* amongst the Ancients, and *Marlorate*, and *Aretius* amongst the Moderns, to expound this place directly of idolatry, and not of idols. Thirdly, because *Tertullian*, who in his booke *de corona* seemeth to condemne not onely the action of idolatry, but also the very idols themselues, yet in the very same place confesseth that those very idols be *Substantia munda ut dei res: et hac sua conditione communes usus*. And in his second booke against *Marcion*, (expounding the second commandement) hee saith, that the true cause why God forbiddeth images, is onely this, that so hee might *Cohibere substantiam idololatrie*. Which two places of *Tertullian* I pray you to marke: the first, showing that idols, may haue a lawful vse, and therefore be not simply forbidden: the second, that they onely be for-

Caluin, in *Isai.*  
cap. 3.  
Wl. itg. pag.  
290.

*Metonymie.*

*Didimus*  
Bib. pat. Tom.  
6. pag. 671.

*Tertul.* lib. de  
coron. cap. 10.

*vsui.*

Lib. 2 cont.  
*Marcion*, cap  
22.

Caluin in esp:  
5. Epist. 1.  
Iohn. 1.  
Colloquium  
Montp. 400.  
and 415.

Leuit. 26. 1.

Exod. 23. 13.

1. Kings. 11.  
5.  
Iob. 38. 31. 33  
Acts. 28. 11.

bidden in respect of idolatry. Fourthly, because both *Caluin* & *Beza* which extend this place to the abolishing of idols, yet do it onely in this respect, because they may bee occasions vnto idolatry. Fifthly, because both the aforesaid authors do allow some vse of images: which sheweth that they thinke them not (by this place of *S. Iohn*) to be simply condemned. Sixtly, because I find euen the scriptures themselves to forbid images, onely in respect of adoration and worship, *ye shall make you none idols or grauen image, to bow downe to them, for I am the Lord thy God.* So that this place of *S. Iohn* in forbidding idols, forbiddeth not simply all kinde of vse of them, but onely that religious vse, when wee adore and worship them. For this place of *S. Iohn*, is paralleled by another in the booke of *Exodus*: where wee are forbidden, so much as to name or to mention other Gods. Which place must needs be restrained with this exposition, that it forbiddeth vs but onely, *Honoris causa nominare*: or else the very scriptures should be contrary to them-selues. For they not onely name, but also preserve and keep in record the names of diuers heathen gods. *Astartoth* and *Milcom* are named in the booke of kings: *Arcturus* and *Orion* in the booke of *Iob*: *Castor* and *Pollux* in the *Acts of the Apostles*, and *Act. 14. 12.* *Iupiter* and *Mercury*. Therefore as here is no morement, but that in naming wee should not honour them, so in that place of *Iohn* there is no morement, but that in keeping our selues from them, wee should not worship them. VVhich it is knowne wee do not vnto the crosse. So that if it were graunted that the crosse were an idoll, yet (as long as wee do not worship it) it is not by that place of *Saint Iohn* condemned.

But to come now to the *Assumption* of your argument: you say in it that our crosse is an *Idoll*: and you proue it by three instances. *First that the Papists doe thinke it a defense against the diuill*: *Second that they thinke it to sanctifie the vsers of it: and, Third that they doe adore and worshippe it.*

Of which three proofes, because the last doth indeed proue it to be (in some sense) an idoll; I will take none exception against the two first though they be insufficient, but wil grant that (to the Papiſts) it is no better then an idol. But yet, I pray you note, how ill these points hang together. The Papiſts adore and worship their crosse, *ergo* our crosse is a idol. How incoherent is this? Can their worship of their crosse make our crosse an idol, which is not worshipped? How then could our consciences be assured of the lawfull vse of any thing which we vse, when as wee are not sure, whether the same thing, in some other place, be not made an idoll? Suppose that at our communion there should come in some temporizing Papiſt, who seeing the communion bread vpon the table, would inwardly adore it, after the idolatrous manner of the Romish church, doth his making of that bread an idol, pollute the vse of it vnto the Godly receiuers? if yea, then can we neuer bee assured, whither that which we receiue be Christs body, or an idol: because, there may be alwaies some such disguised Papiſts amongst vs, if no: why shold their adoration of an other crosse corrupt ours, which is not the same, whē as his adoration of the bread, which is none other but the same that wee receiue, corrupts it not? that crosse which they adore, is not the same which wee make in our baptisme: and that crosse which we make, is not the same, that they adore: & therefore I do not see, by what rule, either of true religion, or, of common reason, the one should be condemned for the other.

*Ob.* But yet seeing they make though not the same indiuiduall crosse (which wee vse) yet the same species of crossing an idoll, we ought to forbear the vse of a thing so much abused, especially it beeing none ordinance of God, but onely a meere inuention of man.

*Resp.* The same particular crosse which wee make, the Papiſts neither doe, nor can abuse: and much lesse can they the whole Species of crossing, whercof a part remaineth with vs, as well as with them: if wee should grant, that our crosse

were

Page. 63. 74

Individua

Individua

Deu: 7. 5.

Iosh. 22. 16.  
Ifrasites.Colloquium  
Montpelg: P.  
410. 424. &c.Page. 62. 63.  
73.Instit: lib: 1.  
cap: 11. Sec.  
12.

were of the same *Species* with theirs, which I thinke it is not. But if that were granted; then all which the Papists can possibly abuse, is onely so much of the *Species* of crossing, as they haue in their owne possession. Now, for the abuse which is offered vnto some *Individua* of any *Species*, why the other *induidua* of the same *Species* (though not so abused) should bee condemned, there is neither right nor reason: no more then if wee should condemne the whole action of kneeling, because idolaters do vse to kneele vnto their idols.

I confesse that the scripture commandeth to destroy, not onely the idols them-selues, but also euen their altars too. But this must bee onely vnderstood of the same *Individua* which haue bene abused, not that the whole *Species* for their sake is condemned. The *Ifralites* did not thinke them-selues bound by this commandement, to ouerthrow the *Rubenites* altar, though it were erected without any warrant; & in show had some repugnancie with gods owne commandement. Nay, *Beza* yealdeth not thus much: for hee thinketh it not necessary that the same altar which hath bene abused vnto popish idolatry, should of necessity be altered, but that it may serue (as well as a table) for the vse of the sacrament. So that he is so far from thinking that the abuse of one *Individuum* corrupteth the whole *Species*, that he thinketh not the same *Individuum* it selfe to remaine corrupted, when the abuse thereof is remoued, as it is in our crosse; which yet is not the same with the *Papists* crosse, neither *numero*, nor *Specie*, as wee shall see hereafter.

With *Beza* concurrereth *Caluin*, in the *thesis*, that the abuse of one particular corrupteth not the whole *Species*. For then, the idolatrous abuse of some images, should make all images vnlawfull. But *Caluin* himselfe alloweth *Historicall* images, as helps vnto memory, and saith that they haue a profitable vse, not onely *In monendo*, but also *In docendo*. *Beza* goeth yet further: allowing not onely *Historicall*

images

images, but also euen *Symbolical* too. For he alloweth the painting not onely of holy histories, but also of holy visions too, *Verbi causa*. That of *Isai*. cap. 6. 1. 2. &c. and that of *Daniell*. cap: 7. 9. 10. 13. 14. wherein God himselfe must needs bee represented. And he thinketh that by the helpe of such images, the text it selfe may bee illustrated and better vnderstood. The translators of our *Geneua* bible goe yet further, for they in the 33. cap: of *Numbers* in one page set downe, the image not onely of the brazen serpent, (now after it hath bene abused) but also of the *Isralites* golden calfe which was neuer well vsed. Which they would neuer haue done, if they had beene perswaded that the abuse which was offered to one of these images, had so infected and tainted the whole *Species*, that none other of them, could for euer after haue any lawfull vse. Yea and all those images they place euen in the Bible, whereby they must needs intend to haue some vse of them in the seruice of God. Let these examples be well considered and then giue vs a reason, how they may lawfully set downe an image of that same idoll which hath bene abused, and not wee as lawfully vse that signe of the crosse which hath neuer beene abused.

Ob. Now for your second reason in this fourth obiection, so witte, that the signe of the crosse is but an inuention of man, and that therefore (it hauing beene abused vnto idolatry) may not be vsed in the seruice of God, that is a reason compacted of many errors.

For first (as concerning your *Antecedent*) I thinke that wee may vpon better ground affirme, that the vse of the crosse is as an Apostolicall tradition, then you, that is but meerely an humaine inuention. For first, diuers of the fathers expressely affirme so of it: as namely *Tertullian*. *Lib: de corona*. cap: 4. whereas hee saith of the crosse, that though it haue not *Legem scripturarum*, yet it hath both *Traditionem auctoricam*, and *consuetudinem confirmatricem*. So likewise *Basil*

Colloquium  
Mont part:  
2. P. 3. 1. ex-  
ditione Beza.  
Ex editione  
Iacobi An-  
drea. P. 4. 1.

Page: 180.



Tom. 1. p. 20.

Pag. 324.

August. Epist  
118. ad Ianu.Tertul. lib. de  
coron. cap. 4.

Ibid.

*lib. de spiritu sancto. cap. 27.* He ascribeth as great authority to the Apostolicall traditions, as he doth vnto the Apostolicall writings, and reckoneth for the chiefest of them, the signe of the crosse. So likewise *Damasene lib. 4. de orthodoxa fide. cap. 17.*

Secondly, the practise of the whole Catholike church (which hath euer from the time of the very Apostles had this ceremonie in vse) doth giue great strength vnto the iudgement of the fore-named Fathers, Saint *Augustine* saith, that *whatsoeuer is generally obserued of all churches* (as the vse of the crosse hath beene) that *assuredly is either an Apostolicall tradition, or at the least, the Canon of some generall counsell.* And *Tertullian*, from the generall obseruation proueth, that it is an Apostolicall tradition. *Idonea testis probata traditionis, est perseverantia observationis*: for otherwise it is not likely, that all churches would so generally haue consented in this, more then in any other ceremonie, as it appeareth they did by Saint *Basils* testimonie, who calleth this signing with the crosse, both *primam* and *vulgarissimam traditionum*. Thirdly, that great reuerence, and high estimation, which all the Fathers, from the first to the last, haue had of this ceremonie (though all of them doe not expressly call it an Apostolicall tradition) must needs argue that they thought it to haue a better institution, then to be meereley and simply an humaine inuention. Finally, if it be but an humaine inuention, let vs know (I pray you) the first inuenter of it, and when it was first decreed, and how it came so soone to bee so generally obserued. Which if you cannot shew vs, I thinke that wee may with greater probabilitie, esteeme it to be an Apostolicall tradition (the fore-alleged reasons giuing strength to our coniecture) then you can (without the like) call it a mans inuention.

Now for your consequent, (if your antecedent were granted) yet might that with great reason be denyed. For first, admit that this signing with the crosse were indeed no

better

better then a meere humane inuention : doth therefore the abuse of it in one place, take away all vse of it, in any other? or the abuse of it at one time, destroy the good vse of it for euer after? by what reason say you this? you your selues allow that the creatures of God, though they haue beene abused, yea and worshipped for idols in the highest degree, (as all Sheepe and Oxen were by the *Aegyptians*) yet that in the same singular *identity*, they may afterward be vsed in the seruice of God, as *Gedions* Oxe was, which being consecrated as a sacrifice for *Baal*, yet afterward was offered vp vnto God : and why may not in like sort, the decent and orderly ceremonies of the Church, though abused in one place, yet in an other be restored vnto their right vse? especially the abuse which is offered in ceremonies, being but only *secunda idolatria*, as *Tertullian* noteth, but a *second and inferiour degree of idolatry* : whereas that which is offered in the creatures, is often-times the principall : they beeing honored for very Gods. Where finde you Gods creatures (in this case of idolatry) to haue any greater priuiledge then the Churches ceremonies : If they, after they haue beene made idols in the highest degree, may yet haue their vse in the seruice of God, why may not the other too, which can be made idols but in an inferiour degree? If the idolatry with creatures, do not destroy the vse of the same *individa*, why should the idolatry of ceremonies (which is a lesse abuse) destroy the vse of all the whole *species*? the translators of our *Geneua* Bible, in setting out the picture of the golden Calse, insinuate these two things. First, that the abuse offered to one idol of that kind (though it were idolatry in the highest degree) yet hath not so corrupted the whole *species* of it, but that other may both lawfully and profitably bee vsed. Secondly, that though that idols were but a mans inuention, & had bin so notably abused vnto idolatry, yet, that it is not debarred, from helping vs euen in the seruice of God : for that must needs be the end of their figuring it in that booke.

Looke p. 34.

*Egyptians*  
Cic. lib. 3. de  
nat. deor.  
*Gedions*  
Iud. 6. 25. 26.

Tertul. lib. de  
coron. cap. 10

Pag. 20.

Fox. p. 1843.

~~Idolatrous~~

Sozomen.

hist. lib. 7.

cap. 15.

pag. 63.

Whit. pag.

599.

John. 13. 23.

*Beza* (as you heard before) goeth further: for hee alloweth the very same alter, which hath beene the instrument of an idolatrous sacrifice, to be vsed as an instrument of our christian Sacrament. In which iudgement, diuers martyrs in *Queene Maries* time concurred, who were content to vse the same Surplices and Chalices, which had beene abused in idolatrous masses. The like did the christians in the primitive church: they conuerted the same temples into the houses of God, which had beene consecrated to the seruice of abominable idols; yet are both idolatrous Temples and Alters mans owne meere inuentions, and not Gods eyther creatures or ordinances. So that, though our crosse were the same which was abused, and but a mans inuention, yet might it by these examples be defended.

But secondly, I answer vnto your consequent; That if it were granted, that the signe of the crosse were but a mans inuention; yet can it not bee granted with any truth, that the protestants crosse is the same, which the Papists haue abused; ours differing from theirs, both in the *Agents* and in the *ends* of the action: two very great and materiall differences. Thirdly I demand, how those men which condemne all humane inuentions which haue idolatrously beene abused, do agree with themselves, when they condemne kneeling and commend sitting at the holy communion? making this to bee a significant signe of our eternall rest, which is both meere ly an humane inuention, and hath notably beene abused vnto idolatry.

*Ob.* Perhaps you will say, that sitting is agreeable to Christs owne institution, and that he himselfe sat at his last Supper.

*Resp.* But that is not so: hee vsed an other site of his body, as distant from sitting, as kneeling is. He leaned, and so did the rest of his Disciples, according to the custome and fashion of those times. Looke *Clauius Scriptura in voce sinus*. *Struckius de ritibus conuivialibus lib. 2. cap. 34.*

*Ob.* But happily you thinke, that sitting hath not beene so

wickedly

wickedly abused vnto idolatry, as kneeling hath.

*Resp.* Nay much more and to more horrible idolatry too. For in the kingdomes of *Calecutre* and *Narsinga*, and in diuerse other prouinces of the East and West *India*, where they worship the diuill in a most deformed image, they represent him alwayes sitting: and they worship him, not kneeling, but prostrate, So that they which reiect kneeling and retaine sitting, whilest they auoide the iesture of Christian idolaters, they imitate the iesture of Heathen idols. Therefore, where sitting is allowed, I know not, why either kneeling, or crossing, should be abolished.

*gesture.*  
*gesture.*

Then, to recapitulate the summe of this long answer. If neither wee our selues, nor the papists our aduersaries doe thinke our crosse auailable to the driuing away of diuils, nor to the sanctifying of our selues, nor yet do adore it with diuine or holy worship; then is not our crosse made an idoll, either by our owne practise, or by their opinion: and therefore not to be debarred from the seruice of God, by force of your first argument.

Againe, if our crosse be either no humane inuention, but rather an Apostolicall tradition: or, being an humane inuention, yet hath neuer beene abused vnto idolatry, then is it not excluded from the seruice of God, by vertue of your second argument.

But the first of these is true, as I haue shewed in the body of this answer: *Ergo*, the second also.

### The first obiection.

*For as much as our profession of Christ, is a part of the covenant, Rom. 10.8.9. I haue doubted, how man may appoint the signe of the crosse, as a token of our profession. This being Gods owne prerogative, as to ordaine the covenant, so to ordaine meete signes for it. Gen. 17.7.11.*

## Answer.

This fifth obiection is very intricate, but I gesse, that it may be explicated thus.

*No man may adde signes to the covenant of God.* Gen. 17. 7. 11. *But our profession of Christ is the covenant of God.* Rom. 10. 8. 9. *Ergo no man may adde signes to our profession of Christ.* And by consequent, the signe of the crosse may not bee added, to our profession in baptisme.

In which argument, the *Maior* must be answered by distinction. That the outward signes of our profession, or covenant with God, bee of two diuers natures; for either they bee sacramentall, or ceremoniall signes. For sacramentall signes, wee plainly confesse, that they must needs bee of Gods owne institution, and haue his owne promise annexed vnto them; and therefore no man hath any power to ordaine them, but this (as you truly say) is Gods sole prerogatiue. But, for rituall and ceremoniall signes, made either for the ordering of the Church within it selfe, or for the distinguishing of it from other assemblies, the case is farre otherwise; such thinges may bee made by the Churches constitution, without any incroching vppon Gods prerogatiue, by the iudgement of the most Diuines, both old and new. I referre you for breuities sake vnto the ninety five page of Bishoppe *Whitgifts* booke continuing vnto page 128. In which long and learned discourse hee citeth many testimonies of the ancient fath<sup>ers</sup>, declaring many rites and ceremonies to haue beene ordained in the primitive Church by hir owne authority, without any expresse warrant of the word for them, sauing onely that generall warrantize of Saint Paule, *Omnia decenter et ordine fiant*. In which rule he naming not the seuerall particulars, but leauing them to the Churches discretion he giueth it power to ordaine lawes and ceremonies, so that these con-

1. Cor: 14. 40.

ditions



ditions be not transgressed. He bringeth also the judgement of diuers new writers which confirme the same. *Caluin* (who with them is *Inftar omnium*) saith that a sette forme of rites and ceremonies bee the *nerves* and *sinewes* of the Church, without which it needs must be disolued. And those constitutions which are made by the Church, hee bindeth all the members thereof to obserue: condemning not onely such as contemne and reiect them, but also such, as pretermitt and neglect them: adding this for a reason of our vniforme obedience in such outward matters, *Quantarum ritarum semen futura est earum rerum confusio, si pro ut cuique libitum sit, mutare liceat que ad communem statum pertinent. Quando nunquam futura sit ut idem omnibus placeat, si res, velut in medio posita, singulorum arbitrio relicta fuerint.* so that hee affirmeth, that whereas there is not vniformity in ceremonies, there can neuer bee vnity in affections, but must needs bee iarres and great contentions. Yea euen T.C. him-selfe expressely affirmeth, that the Church hath power to make orders in these things which are not specified and precisely determined in the word. And hee addeth, *that if they bee profitable for the Church, and bee not repugnant to the word, they are to bee receiued as being grounded vpon the word, and as things, which God him-selfe, by his Church, hath commanded.* Marke I pray you what power, euen this aduersary of ceremonies ascribeth to the Church: enough to authorize both the crosse, and surplice, and all the other ceremonies which hee him-selfe impugneth: none of which are repugnant vnto the word of God, but all of them profitable for the Church; as the Church it selfe in ordaining them determineth; and therefore, by his owne rule, bee grounded vpon the word; and so ought to bee receiued as Gods owne commandements, ordained by the Church. Further the practise of all Christian Churches in the worlde doth manifestly shewe, that the Church hath power to ordaine Rites and

ceremonies

Wl. itg. pag. 111.

lib. 4. Instit: cap. 10. Sec: 27.

Sec: 31. *disolued*

*ritarum*

*comanin*

*futurum*

Whitgift. pag. 106.

124:

Minister of

ceremonies, though not expressly prescribed in the word, for, there is no Church in Christendome without such, as namely, orders for sitting, kneeling, standing: place, for reader, preacher, and administer for the sacraments, time for prayers, sermons, sacraments, and such like.

Ob. But though the Church haue power to ordaine orders, for conueniency and comelinesse, yet hath it no power to ordaine any signes with their significations: neither can there any such example be produced.

Pag. 8. 9.

Resp. If the Church haue power to ordaine vnsignificant ceremonies, then much more such as are significant, for, vnsignificant ceremonies can not edifie, as I haue formerly shewed, but significant may, if their signification be expressed, as it is in our crosse, where these words be added, *I signe him with the signe of the crosse, in token that hereafter he shall not bee ashamed to confesse the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight vnder his banner &c.* what can bee more plaine, or more profitable, not onely to expresse the duty of the child, (then presently receiued into the Church by baptisme) but also, to admonish euery one in the Church what profession they themselues did make, at their baptisme? Now, that the Church hath power to ordaine such ceremonies, having so good and profitable significations (to let *Tertullians* iudgment passe, who sayth, that *licet unicuique fideli concipere et constituere, quod deo congruat, quod disciplina conducatur, & quod saluti proficiat*) euen *T. C.* his former rule doth sufficiently proue, for hee sayth, that *those things which are not against the word, and profitable for the Church, ought to bee receiued as things which GOD by his Church doth commande, and as grounded vpon the word of God.* But, it is more profitable for the church to haue significant then vnsignificant ceremonies, and these be no more against the word, then they are, and therefore by *T. C.* his rule, such ceremonies ought to be receiued, as Gods owne commandements, sent vnto vs by his Church,

Tertul. lib. de  
coron. cap. 4.

Now

Now for examples, that the Church hath ordained many such, it is great ignorance in *Scorie* if a man do doubt it. To begin with <sup>the same cause that is in the same place</sup> Saint *Paul* likewise he ordained that women should come veiled or couered to the Church, by that ceremony to signifie their subiection to their husbands. Which example *Peter Martyr* doth peremptorily alledge as a prooffe, that our ceremonies ought to have their significations. Let vs descend lower vnto the *primatiue Church*. In it these significant ceremonies were generally obserued. First, in baptisme they were dipped three times into the water. Secondly, they were anoynted with oyle. Thirdly, they were signed with the signe of the crosse. And fourthly, they were clothed with white garments. All these ceremonies are recorded by *Dionysius Areopagita* in his booke of *Ecclesiasticall hierarchie*. The significations of all which ceremonies he afterwards expoundeth, in the *Contemplation* annexed vnto that chapter. Yea and diuers other fathers; both of diuers Churches, and of differing ages, in their writings declare, that not onely these ceremonies were vntil their times continued, but also their significations receiued. First for that threefold dipping into the water, *S. Hierome* saith that it was done to signifie, that the sacrament was ministred in the name of the whole trinity. Secondly, for that anoynting with oyle, Saint *Augustine* saith, that it was done to signifie, the inward anoynting of the holy Ghost. 3. for that signing the forehead with the signe of the crosse *S. Augustine* againe saith, that it was done, *that we should not be ashamed of the crosse of Christ*. Fourthly, for that change of their apparrell and putting on white raiments, *S. Ambrose* saith, that this was done, to signifie, that we had now put off *[the old man]* 1. the couerings of sin & put on the garments of chastity and innocency. Vnto these I might adde many other *Christian* ceremonies, recorded by *Basil* in his booke *de spiritu sancto*: as namely, that they praied towards the east to signifie that they sought that paradise by praying, which

I. Cor. 11.

5.7.

The Rubenites altar was not for sacrifice, but, to signifie, that they belonged to the Church.

Which significant ceremony, was allowed by all Israel. Iosh: 22. 26. 27. 30.

Pet: Mart: Epist. ad Hoo-perum.

Dyonis: lib: de ecclesi: hierarch: cap. 3.

Hier: lib: 3. in Ephes:

Aug: Tract: 3. in 1. Epist: Iohn.

Aug: Serm. 8. le verb. Apost.

Ambr: lib. de hjs qui initiatur misterijs cap: 7.

Basil: lib: de spi: sac: cap. 27.

they lost by sinning. That they prayed standing, vpon the Sunday, to signifie, that as that day was the day of Christs resurrection, so they were risen againe with Christ, and now sought those things which are aboue: with diuers other like; reckoned vp in that place, which he affirmeth to be apostollicall traditions.

All which examples doe euidently declare the iudgement of the primitive Church; that both it had power to ordaine ceremonies, and also to giue them their significations: and consequently, the want of iudgement in those men, which affirme, that neither the Church hath any such power, nor histories affoord any such example. Herevnto I may adde the opinion of the very *Reformers* themselues, who preferre sitting before kneeling at the communion, because *sitting betokeneth rest, and an end of all legall ceremonies in Iesus Christ*: which reason they would neuer haue alleadged, if they had thought that the Church had had no power to ordaine significant ceremonies and rites. Therefore the Church doth not tyrannize ouer mens consciences, in ordaining significant rites and ceremonies; but these men would tyrannize ouer the Church, who would spoile her of that her lawfull authoritie; especially they not being able to produce any Scripture, whereby shee is abridged of that power.

*Ob. But though the Church should haue power to ordaine rites and ceremonies for priuate order in it selfe; yet hath it no power to appoint any out-ward signe, to bee a note of our generall profession, but that is G O D S owne peculiar prerogative. Gen 17. 7. 11.*

*Resp.* That the Church hath authority in greater matters, then either in adding significations to ceremonies, or outward notes to our profession, very many instances doe notably declare. First, that whereas Christ instituted his supper at the time of supper, it hath changed that time from the evening to the morning, which is an altering (in circumstance)

Whitgift,  
pag. 599.

of Christs owne institution. Secondly, whereas the Apostles decreed in a generall councill, that Christians should abstaine from bloud and from stranglers, that hath it likewise altered, and so cancelled an Apostolicall constitution. The like authority they shewed in altering the ancient day of the Sabboth, and administring Baptisme vnto children: in this, they wanting the commandement of Christ; in that, they changing the commandement of God, From which instances we may argue, as from the greater to the lesse, That if they erred not in those fore-named ordinances, much lesse haue they erred in adding significations vnto their ceremonies: & by the same reason, why hath not the church as great a power to adde outward signes vnto our profession, as to ordaine other ceremonies, concerning our Ecclesiasticall administration? Is the signe the lesse lawfull, because it is a signe of our profession? Why then is none at all lawfull: for not onely this signe of the crosse, but also all other Ecclesiasticall ceremonies (as *Aquinas* teacheth vs) are signes of our profession. Hee saith, that *Omnes ceremonie be protestationes quedam fidei*. *Tertullian*, being newly conuerted vnto Christianity, forsooke his old habit, which was a gowne, and betooke him to a new, which was a Cloake, that so with the change of his garment hee might notifie to the world, the change of his profession: which certainly hee would neuer haue done, if he had beene perswaded, that the adding of such a signe vnto his profession had beene an inroching vpon GODS owne prerogatiue and peeculiar iurisdiction. The Christians likewise in the primitiue Church, euer from the time of the very Apostles, haue vsed this same ceremonie of the crosse which is now in question, as a marke and a signe of their profession, and yet did neuer either they themselves thinke it, or the greatest aduersaries that they had, impute it, as a presumption and inroching against Gods owne prerogatiue, as *Saint Basil* obserueth: *Nec bis quifquam contradicit* (saith hee, speaking of the traditions and

stranglers.

sabbath.

*Aquin. 1. 2.*  
*Quest. 103.*  
*Art. 4. c.*

*T. C.* saith,  
 that all the  
 Christians of  
 his time did  
 the like, for  
 the clearer &  
 more open  
 profession of  
 their faith.  
*Whitgift,*  
*p. 268.*

*Basil lib. de*  
*Spiritu sancto*  
*cap. 27.*



primitive

ceremonies of the Church) *Quisquis sane vel tenuiter expertus est, quæ sint intra ecclesiastica.* So that this obiection of yours (if it be good) condemneth not onely our vse of the crosse now after it hath beene abused by the *Papists*, but euen the vse of it in the primitive Church, before it was abused. Or (if it be weake) it is weake against vs, as well as against them. For the vse of it now, is no more an inchoement vpon Gods owne prerogative, then it was in that time.

*Ob.* But you prove by that place *Gen: 17. 7. 11.* that God onely hath power to adde signes vnto his covenant: and by consequent, that they which adde any such signes, presume to enter vpon Gods owne prerogative.

Aug: 119. ad  
Ianuar:

*Resp.* But this prooffe which you alledge, hath two great faults in it. First, that it is not *ad idem*: and secondly, that it is not concludent in the cause: not *ad idem*, thus. To proue that the Church may not adde any ceremoniall signe vnto our profession, you produce a place of scripture, which speaketh onely of sacramentall signes. It is circumcision (which was a sacramentall signe) that God in that place did adde vnto his covenant. Such signes I do yeald that God onely may institute. But as for the crosse, wee make it not a sacrament, but onely a ceremonie. And wee may truly say of it, as Saint *Augustine* doth of the birth day of *Christ*, *Non in sacramento celebratur, sed tantum in memoriam renouatur.*

Tertul. lib. de  
coron. cap. 4.

Secondly, if your prooffe were *ad idem*, and proper to the purpose, yet is it inconcludent. For, by what rule of reason can this consequent follow, God added a sacramentall signe vnto his covenant. Ergo, man may not adde a ceremoniall signe? if God added signes vnto his covenant to assure vs of his faithfull performance of his part, why may not wee adde signes vnto our covenant, to assure him of our faithfull performance of our part? *Tertullian* saith, that *Licos omni fideles constitunere quod deo congruat, quod disciplina conducat,*

and

and quod saluti proficiat. Dicente domino, cur autem, non et a vobis ipsis quod instum est iudicatis? marke, et a vobis ipsis? Iosua, when he had heard the people make an earnest profession, that they would serue the Lord, & not any other God; he rested not in their bare profession, but sealed it by this ceremonie by *pitching up a great stone, vnder an oke, which hee sayd should witnesse against them, if they brake their covenant*: as Iacob before, by the like ceremonie had sealed the couenant betweene him and *Laban*: So thar, wee are not debarred by that place of *Genesis*, but that we may adde signes (if not seales) vnto Gods couenant: if Gods couenant and our profession be *Synonima*, as you seeme to make them in your *Maio*r proposition.

Now, for your *Minor*: That our profession of Christ is the couenant of God: it may (in some sense) bee allowed to bee true, although (as you know) the couenant betweene God and man doth passe in some-what an other forme, viz. That he should be our God, and we should be his people, where the Prophet expoundeth our part of the couenant, to bee the faithfull obeying of him, and not the outward professing of him. As for faith & confession, which you alledge out of the *Rom.* cap. 10. 9. to be the whole sum of our profession, and of our part of the couenant with God, that is not true; they bee partes indeede of our couenant with God, but our whole part they be not; vnlesse you take both faith & confession in a very large signification; faith not only for beleeuing with the heart, but also for working with the hand; And confession, not onely for the speeches of the tongue, but also for the gestures and behauiours of the body. By which meanes (though not there *nominatim* expressed) yet our God ought to bee serued, and the truth both of our faith and confession to be testified. So that, vnto those two points of beleeuing and confessing, we not onely may, but also must adde a further testification. For our loue, and our zeale in the seruice of God (which is our part of the couenant) can neuer bee

Iosua. 24. 21.

ver. 37.

Gene. 31. 45  
46.Synonima

Ier. 11. 4.

1. Cor. 6. 20.  
Iam. 2. 18.

testified ouer much, nor neuer enough, when wee haue done all we can: and therefore, if vnto our faith in belecuing, and to our words in confessing, wee adde other outward signes and gestures, to expresse the fulnesse of our inward affection, as namely, sometimes kneeling and casting downe our bodies, sometimes lifting vp our eyes and hands, sometimes sights and grones, and beating of our breasts: all these significant signes (beeing nothing els but a more full testification of the faithfull performance of our part of the couenant) are so farre from beeing a thing vnlawfull, that I doubt not, but, vnto God they bee highly acceptable: vnto whome our dumbe gestures doe oftentimes more effectually speake, then our babling tongues, as the scriptures plainly teach vs, in the examples of *Anna*, and of *Mary Magdeline*. Of this kind wee reckon the signe of the crosse: which is nothing els, but an outward testification of our faith in Christ crucified, and of our redinesse to obey him as our God, that is, to performe our couenant towards him. And therefore, why this signe may not bee vsed, as well as any other, to this fore-named end, I do yet conceiue no sufficient reason: vnlesse some better then this be brought, which (as the most of the other) is grounded onely vpon a groundlesse feare.

#### The sixt obiection.

*I pray to haue it cleered, that the vse of this signe, for witnessing our selues Christians, doth take nothing from baptisme, which, doth richly and sufficiently testifie the same.*

#### Answer.

How the vse of the crosse, seruing onely as a memoriall of Christs passion for vs, and of our reciprocall obedience vnto him, should take any thing from baptisme (which intimateth

the

*Sights.*

*Magd.  
lene.*

I. Sam. I. 13.  
Iuke. 7. 44. &c.

the same things) I can not conceiue. The multitude of witnesses maketh euery thing more certaine. And, in this so necessary a duty of professing our religion, wee need not to feare that wee can bring too many. Nay rather, there bee many expected of vs, yea and not only words, but also signes and gestures too, as I haue formerly shewed, in answere vnto the fifth obiection. *Simon* the Pharesie, when hee called Christ to dinner, had sufficiently by words declared his affection; but yet, because he added not a further testimony by gestures in offering Christ a kisse, at his first entertainment, his duty is censured as defectiue and vnperfect. On the contrary side: *Mary Magdalines* affection was esteemed more full and perfect, for that multitude of outward signes whereby she expressed it, in *washing, wiping, kissing, weeping, and in anoynting of Christs feete with oyle*. As therefore a carefull seruant, who hath had his duty sufficiently told him by word of mouth, yet is not to bee blamed, if (for greater assurance) he will write it in a paper, or (for memorie sake) but score it vpon a stick. So, though the sacrament of baptisme, do both fully and richly declare our duty, yet is not our religious diligence to be condemned, if (for our better remembrance) this ceremony be super-added.

Ob. But you seeme to insinuate, that the sacrament of baptisme doth testifie sufficiently that wee bee Christians; and that therefore this other testification by the crosse is superfluous: and being added, doth seeme to import some defect in baptisme to that purpose.

I answere; first, for the cleering of our action. That wee adde not the signe of the crosse vnto baptisme, as though the sacrament were either vnperfect or vn sufficient without it, to our regeneration, in Iesus Christ: but we annex it as onely a significant signe, to testifie, what new profession (by our baptisme) wee are entered. So that, wee make not our crosse either a part of the sacrament, or any necessary supplement vnto it, to giue it any strength which it

hath

pag. 32. 37. c

luke. 7. 45.  
Magdalene

hath not of it selfe : but we adde it, as onely a circumstantiall complement, for illustration sake, to notifie vnto the world, that wee honour our new profession of Christianity by that very signe, which all (that be not Christians) thinke the great dishonour of it.

insufficient

Psal. 19. 7.

Numb. 33.

Iosh. 4. 5. 6. 7.

Secondly I answer, that our adding of this signe vnto baptisme, doth neither argue it to be sufficient, nor is argued by it to bee superfluous. God added the new testament vnto the old, for our more plaine instruction: (the matter of both the testaments is the same) doth either this argue that to bee vnperfect, or that argue this to be superfluous? Our Saviour Christ hauing instituted holy baptisme, contented not himselfe to haue giuen this one sacrament vnto this Church, but added afterwards another, to wit his Supper (the matter of both these two sacraments is the same) doth this addition argue, that either the one of these is vnperfect, or els that the other of them is superfluous? The writings of *Moyse* did sufficiently and richly declare vnto the *Israelites*, the benefit which they receiued by the brazen serpent: yet did not they thinke it to bee any derogation from the sufficiency of his booke, to helpe their owne remembrance therein, by preserving the visible *Symbol* of it. Which monument they kept without any diuine warrant, and yet were neuer condemned for it, as detracting from the sufficiency of the scripture by it. The same we see practised, euen in our *Geneua* Bible, where though the text doe sufficiently expresse the whole history, yet doe not the Translators thinke it a thing vnlawfull to make a visible representation thereof, for the helping of our memorie. Whereby it appeareth, that one and the same thing may by diuerse signes be signified, one giuing light vnto another (as the death of Christ was, by diuerse sacrifices in the law) and yet none of them bee reiected, as either vnperfect, or as superfluous. Therefore, as the passage of *Israel* ouer *Iorden*, is sufficiently testified in the booke of *Iosua*, and yet *Iosua* himselfe (to haue a

visible



visible signe and monument of that action) caused twelue stones to bee pitched vp, as a further testimony of it, not hindring thereby, but rather helping the testimony of the scripture: so may wee vse the crosse, for the very same end, which is signified in baptisme, and yet nothing derogate from the sufficiency of it, as the ancient *Christians* did by the changing of their garments; which as *T. C.* sayth, did serue for the cleerer profession of their faith, and as Christian soldiars at this day vse to do: who (of what nation soeuer they be) doe still beare, in their ensignes, the signe of the crosse, proclaiming themselves by that signe to bee Christians, and not doubting thereby, to disable that profession which they made in baptisme.

Whitg. p. 168

## The seauenth obiection.

*And if this be true, then should it seeme that this ceremony of the crosse is idle. And I am doubtfull whether it be not a taking of the name of God in vaine, to haue any thing idle or superfluous in the seruice of God.*

*Answer.*

And if this be true, you say: but that it is not true, I haue formerly shewed: And therefore this obiection, being but a consequent grounded vpon the former, neede not to be confuted, it falling of it selfe, as *Abiram* did, when his ground sunke vnderneath him: I haue formerly shewed that it is not true, that the vse of the crosse in witnessing vs Christians, doth any thing detract from the sacrament of baptisme, but rather, addeth therevnto a more plaine explication. For, the signe of the crosse marked in our fore-heads (in the nature of the signe) doth more directly witnesse, and more properly expresse, that we are not ashamed to be counted his seruants that died vpon the crosse, then the sprinkling of water vpon

the fore-head doth. And therefore in respect of this fit and opposite spiritual significatiō, conspiring so fully with the signification of baptisme, and expressing it so liuely, that ceremonie can not so iustly bee counted idle as your insignificant ceremonies may. Wherevpon, no man can haue any iust cause to doubt, whether such a religious vse of the crosse, should be a taking of Gods name in vaine. But rather it may very truely bee sayd that such vaine conceits fathered vpon Gods name, and such violent detorting & wrestling of Gods commandements from their purposes vnto ours, is indeed a taking of Gods name in vaine.

The eight obiection.

*Albeit the vse of this signe bee ancient, and (from things of common life) were brought into the sacrament before Popery came in: yet (sithens consignatio crucis quæ antiquitus sine, superstitione fuit, et tollerari tunc potuit, patefecit aditum abominandæ superstitioni, et hyperdulix crucis horribilissimæ) my scruple is, how that which was at first, not euilly taken up, may now bee well continued. Especially, seeing the Canon-law it selfe sayth, Distinct: 63. (as it is cited by D. Reinolds against Hart) if our predecessors haue done some things which at that time when they were first done were without fault, and afterward bee turned into error and superstition, wee are taught by Ezechias his breaking of the brazen serpent, that posterity may destroy them without delay, and with great authority. Thus farre the Canonists.*

*antiquitus.*

*tollerari.*

*Canon law.*

*Answer.*

The vse of the crosse in the primitiue Church, though some-times before washings, feastings, walkings, and other such like actions of common life, yet was alwaies vsed with a kinde of religion, as it were to sanctifie such common acti-

ons,

ons, by a religious ingresse : but that , not *ex opere operato* , but, *ex opere operantis* , the signe of the crosse beeing, *tacita invocatio meritorum Christi* , and so vsed by antiquitie.

Perkins. prob.  
pag. 84.

The abuse which afterward grew from thence (if it grew from thence) was rather an offence springing from mans naturall corruption prone vnto sinne , then any necessarie consequent of such a religious custome , as *Beza* (whose words you cite) would seeme to make it, vsing therein a manifest *Elench*, *A non causa pro causa* . For with as great reason may he make the communion-bread to bee the cause of Popish idolatry , as the crosse to bee the cause of their idolatry; for, the bread hath beene as grossly abused by them, as the crosse hath . And you may say as truely of the bread, that *parefecit aditum abominande superstitioni* , as you can of the crosse.

Beza, Epist. 8.

Your granting that this signe at the first was not euilly taken vp , is a iustifying of our vse of it , who reduce it now againe vnto the primitiue vse, which was not euill.

Your reason why it ought to be abolished, because it since hath beene abused, is faulty many waies, and therefore would further be examined . It may (as I take it) be reduced to this *Syllogisme*.

*Whatsoeuer hath beene abused to idolatrie and superstition, that ought to be destroyed. But the signe of the crosse hath beene so abused, ergo.*

Your *Maior* you proue, by a sentence out of the *Cannon-law* . Your *Minor* , by a sentence out of *Bezæ*s Epistles. Let vs therefore now examine , as well your positions , as your proofes.

Cannon

First therefore as concerning your *Maior* proposition. That *whatsoeuer hath beene abused vnto idolatrie ought to be destroyed* , it is vterly false . For, if all things that haue beene so abused should be presently abolished, we shold leaue our selues nothing , that might bee rightly vsed . So generall or

rather indeed so transcendent, hath this sinne of idolatry bin. For, there is none of all Gods workes, nay there is noine of mans workes, but it hath in some place or other, beene some way or other abused to idolatry. So that, if for other mens abuses, wee should be forced to renounce the things so abused, wee should depriue our selues, of the principall helpes and muniments of our life. The *Caldeans* did worship the fire for their God: the *Ethiopians*, the water. Shall therefore we Christians be *aqua* and *igni interdicti*? or, because the Papists haue worshipped their bread, may not Protestants vse bread? you see what grosse consequents wil necessarily follow vpon your antecedent. Therefore, though your proposition (in some sense) may haue some truth in it; yet is it not to be admitted, in such a generallity, as by you it is propounded. That whatsoeuer hath vnto idolatry beene abused, should by and by (without further examination) bee destroyed. But vnto the abolishing of things so peruerred, (if by the law they be established) wee must proceede with many cautions. First *Calvin* telleth vs, that wee must neither *Temere*, nor *Subinde*, nor *lenibus de causis ad nouationem decurrere*, but in changing of things established we must vse great aduiselement. Secondly, we must with indifferencie consider, whether their commodities or discommodities be the greater, if the comodities, then that sentence of the Comike is a rule of right reason. That *Cuius multa commoda sunt, illius quo incommoda ferre decet*. If the euill bee greater then the good, then must wee consider, whether it be seperable, or inseperable. If seperable, then is that a good rule which the orator giueth vs, *non minus probandum esse medicinam, qua sanat vitiosas partes, quam qua exsecat*. If inseperable, then yeld we that counsell of the Poet to bee necessary, that *inmedicabile vulnus ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur*. So that this abolishing of things of good vse, for some abuse that hath growne vnto them, is then only allowable, when their euill is greater then their good, or, when it is incurable. Both

which

lib. 4. Instit.  
cap. 10. Sect.  
30.

quodq.

Cic. lib. 2. Epi.  
ab Attio. Epi. 1

which points are far otherwise in the signe of the crosse, as we see by experience. And therefore no cause, why for that abuse of it which hath beene in an other Church, and is long agoe reformed in our Church, so ancient a ceremony should now be abolished.

Ob. But you strengthen your proposition with two fortifications. The one is a sentence of the Canon law, which comendeth unto vs the abolitions of things abused unto superstition. The other is an example of Canonick scripture, which commendeth Ezechias, for putting the same in practise.

Canon  
abolition

Resp. First, for that iudgement of the Canon law, if wee were of some mens disposition, we might allow it for a good reason, that the rule could not be good, because it is fetched out of the Canon-law, & was no better but a Popes-decree. But wee will not vse such peeuihnesse, but leaue that to our aduersaries. Let vs heare what the law sayth, and how farre it maketh for you. *Per hoc magna auctoritas est habenda in ecclesia, ut si nonnulli ex predecessibus et maioribus nostris fecerint aliqua, qua illo tempore potuerunt esse sine culpa, et postea vertuntur in errorem et superstitionem, sine tarditate aliqua, et cum magna auctoritate a posteris destruantur.*

Distin<sup>ct</sup> 63.  
cap. 28. Quia  
sa nra.

In which sentence there be two things to be considered of vs. The first is the quality of the persons of who he speaketh: the second, his qualified maner of speaking. For the persons heere ment by the name of Posterity, it must needs be understood of men in authority, & not of any priuate persons. The words of the decree are most plaine & pregnant. *These ought to be of great authority in the church. Why? that, if things wel begun do degenerate into euill, by that great authority they may bee destroyed, whereby hee implyeth, that hee which will do the worke of Ezechias, in destroying things abused, he ought to haue the authority of Ezechias.* Otherwise, if therbe a disparity in the agents, there wil certainly follow a disparity in the actions. For, if that clause in the latter end of the decree *cum magna auctoritate a posteris destruantur*, bee so construed (as

They



Gramat<sup>ical</sup>

imitation

August. lib 10  
cap: 8. de ciuit:  
dei.

Deut: 12. 2. 3.

Cal. m Exod.  
page. 286.Io. Wolph. in  
lib. 2. Regum.  
cap. 18.

strengthened

Iudg: 6. 25.  
16.

some men haue wrested it) that the very example of *Ezechias* in destroying the brazen serpent) (which before he had alledged) doth giue great authority vnto euery other man, to do the like; it is not onely a manifest peruerting of the *Gramatical* construction, but would also proue the subuerting of all ciuill constitutions. For what authority doth the example of magistrates, (which orderly repeale inconuenient lawes), giue vnto priuate men, disorderly to breake them, whilst they stand in force? Or how doth the action of the Magistrate, who hath his authority inuested in himselfe, as a publike person authorize priuate men to do the same worke, by their voluntary imitation? If this licence were granted, it would proue, not the taking away of abuses, but the sowing of ten thousand abuses, for one. Saint *Augustine*, speaking of this fact of *Ezechias*, saith that he destroyed this serpent by his publike authority, & not by any priuate fantasie. He did *religiosa potestate deo seruire*. *Caluin* vpon the second comandement, expounding that place of *Deuteronomie*, yee shall destroy all the places wherein those nations serued their Gods, yee shall overthrow their altars, and breake downe their pillars and burne their grones with fire &c. He citeth the iudgement of S. *Augustine*, who saith, that this comandement was not giuen vnto priuate men, but to the publike Magistrate. And hee commendeth his iudgment to bee very sound, and wise, *Wolphius* likewise, who handleth this question *ex professo*; Whether priuate men may destroy the monuments of idolatry, He perēptorily denieth it. *Prinatus hominibus ut hac agant. pius ac sapiens author est nemo*. Speaking euen of this very fact of *Ezechias*, in destroying the brazen serpent. And he *strengtheneth* his iudgment by the example of *Gedion*, who all the while that he was a priuate man, he indured the Alter & the groue of *Baal*, & laid no hand to pull downe that idolatry, but when he once was called vnto the magistracie, & furnished thereby with lawfull authority, then hee did the deed, & he did it throughly. So that the magistrate

becing

being the person, whome the decree vnderstandeth by the name of posterity, his example can bee no warrant for any man to do the like, if he lacke the like authority. Now for the qualification of the speech, which was the 2. thing to bee considered in the law: the forme of speech which it vseth, is but onely permissiue, granting a liberty, and not preceptiue, imposing a necessity, leauing place for the Magistrate, with aduise ment to consider, whether the abuse be such, as doth necessarily require such an vtter destruction. The law saith, *That posterity may destroy them. You say that posterity must destroy them.* From *May*, to *Must*, is no good consequence. That Logike rule (as you know) is growne almost into a prouerbe, *A posse ad esse non valet argumentum*: we yeeld that posterity may destroy them, if the abuse can hardly bee reformed: & that it must destroy them, if it can not be reformed at all. But neither of these can bee said of the crosse, whose abuses wee haue reformed with very great facility, and yet not destroyed the right and true vse of it, as experience sheweth plainly. And therefore those men, which match our crosse with the brazen serpent & thinke it as necessary to bee destroyed as that, they truly fall into that censure of Caluin, that, *præcisè urgendo quod per se medium est, sunt nimio rigore superstitiosi.*

*Ob.* But happily you will say, that if this sentence of the Canon law, do not inforce the abolishing of the crosse, yet the example of good King Ezechias doth. For, if he destroyed the brazen serpent, being GODS owne ordinance, because it was idolatrously abused: then much more ought wee to abolish the crosse, which is but mans inuention, it hauing bene likewise idolatrously abused.

*Resp.* This example of Ezechias is very much stood vpon, and therefore it would be the more narrowly examined, Your argument is inferred *A maiori ad Minus* and it may be framed thus, Ezechias spared not the ordinance of GOD, but destroyed it, because it had bene abused. Ergo,

necessarily

Cal. in Exod.  
page: 2:6.

Much

much lesse ought wee to spare the ordinance of man but destroy it, if it haue bene likewise abused.

Numb: 21.8.

benefite.

I answer, that your *Antecedent*, which is the ground of your argument, is not true. *Ezechias* in destroying the brazen serpent, did not therein destroy the ordinance of GOD. For, in the brazen serpent there be things to be considered: *Viz.* the first erection, for the healing of the people: and the preservation, for the remembrance of that benefit. The first erection was indeed the ordinance and inunction of GOD himselfe: but the preservation was the meere inuention of man, It issuing from the good intent of the people, without any warrant or commandement from GOD. Now, that worke beeing finished in the wilderness; for which GOD erected it; that which *Ezechias* destroyed, was but onely mans inuention, to witt the preservation of it. So that if the crosse be but onely an humane inuention, and not Apostolicall tradition, yet euen so, that thing in the serpent which *Ezechias* destroyed, was no better. And therefore the ground of your argument *A maiori* faileth, it beeing rather a false presumption, then a true position.

2. King: 18.4.

Iohn. 3. 14.

Ob. But happily you will say, that the brazen serpent had yet a further use ordained by GOD: namely, to be a figure of our sauour *CHRIST*; And so ought to haue continued vnto his coming, if for that abuse it had not iustly bene cut off.

The brazen serpent was a figure of *CHRIST*, not as it was preserved in the Temple, where it was indeed *Nehustan*, a peece of dead brasse without all power and vertue: but as it was erected in the wilderness, where it gaue health vnto the people. The text is plaine, *As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the son of man be lifted up, &c.* So that with the use of it in the wilderness, the figure also ceased; and therefore for that cause it need not bee preserved. Now, that because it was a figure of *CHRIST*, it should therefore continue vntill the coming of *CHRIST*, that hath no necessary consequence. For the cloud which

accompanied

accompanied the *Israelites*, in the wildernes, was a figure of *CHRIST*, yet did it not continue vnto the comming of *CHRIST*. So likewise the *Manna* was a figure of *CHRIST*; yet did it not last vnto his comming. Some indeed was reserved, as a monument in the Arke: but that was by vertue of a speciall commandement, not by vertue of being a figure of *CHRIST*.

1. Cor. 10. 2.  
Iohn. 6. 49. 50.  
58.  
Iosh. 5. 12.  
Exod. 16. 32.

Ob. *Well be it, that this brazen serpent were not preserved by any speciall warrant; yet Ezechias destroying it because it was abused, and being by the holy Ghost for so doing commended: though the argument follow not A maiori, yet it followeth A Pari, that the crosse ought likewise to be abolished;*

Resp. This *Par* is *Dispar*, in many respects: and being grounded vpon a comparison of equality, yet hath great inequality in euery part of it. For, I note betweene that *Idol* which *Ezechias* destroyed, and this crosse which you would haue abolished, seauen materiall differences, which euery one make a disparity in your comparison, and consequently, *Non sequitur*, in your argument.

The first of them is taken from the obiekt of the abuse: *Ezechias* tooke away none other idoll, but onely that same *Individuum* which was abused: but you would take away the whole *Species* of crossing, because some *Individua* of that *Species* haue beene abused amongst the *Papists*, though many, amongst vs *Protestants*, bee very rightly vsed. The second difference is taken, from the *Subiect* of the abuse. He tooke away none other idoll, but that which had beene abused amongst his owne people: but you would take away that crosse which amongst our owne people is rightly vsed; onely because, amongst an other people (with whome we haue no communion) it is abused.

The third difference is taken, from the nature and quality of the abuse. Hee tooke away that idoll, which was abused, contrary vnto law; you would take away that crosse which is rightly vsed, and the vse thereof established by law.

quantity.

The fourth difference is taken, from the degree and quality of the abuse. He tooke away that idoll which was abused in the highest degree, being idolatrouly worshipped for a false God. For that same people refused to burne their incense vnto God, [2. Chron. 29. 7.] which notwithstanding offered it most profusely vnto that idoll, 2. King. 18. 4. But you would take away that crosse, which was neuer yet worshipped as a false God by any, but hath beene vsed in all *Christi- an* Churches, as a lawfull and lawdable ceremonie, in the worship of the true God.

The fift difference is taken from the continuance of the abuse: He tooke away that idoll whose abuse still remained; but you would take away that crosse, whose abuse hath long ago bin remoued, & whose right vse is now againe restored.

The sixt difference is taken from the certainty of the abuse: He tooke away that idoll, which vpon certaine knowledge, he saw to be idolatrouly abused: but you would take away that crosse, which (onely vpon an vncertaine surmise) you do imagine may possibly bee abused, *Scilicet*, if some Papist should chance to come in amongst vs in the very nick, whilst it is in vsing.

The seauenth difference is taken from the difficulty of removing the former abuse. Hee tooke away that idoll, whose idolatry could hardly bee reformed, so long as the sensible object of their abuse remained: but you would take away that crosse, which can hardly be abused; the object of abuse is so presently vanished: as euen *Caluin* himselfe noteth in an otherlike instance. He disputeth, that the sodaine appearing of the Holy-ghost in the forme of a Doue could not minister iust matter of adoring that resemblance, because it was of so short continuance, being but *unius momenti Symbolum*, which may much more truly bee said of the crosse, that it is indeed but *unius momenti symbolum*, it appearing and perishing in one and the same moment. And therefore if his appearing in the shape and forme of a liuing body, was

lib. 1. Instit.  
cap. 11, sect. 3.



so free from danger, because it was so short: then much more is the crosse, whose forme is lesse dangerous, vanishing more sodaine, and appearing of lesse continuance.

Therefore the crosse and the brazen serpent being equall in this point, that both of them are but humane inuentions, but vnequall in so many other points of farre greater moment: in the obiect, in the subiect, in the quality, in the quantity, in the continuance, and in the certainty of the abuse: and againe, in the difficulty of reforming the same; that these two things, whose offence is so vnequall, should admit an equality of punishment, is against all rules, both of equity and iudgement.

Now for your *Minor* proposition, which you strengthen by a sentence out of *Bezaes* Epistle, who affirmeth that the idolatrous adoration of the crosse, sprung only from the vse of the signe of the crosse: hee affirming this vpon his owne bare word, without any testimonie or prooffe from antiquity, I will answer him with that of the Orator; *De hoc, quia verbo arguit, verbo satis est negare.*

Cic. orat. pro  
Sexto. Rosc.

The ninth obiection.

*Seeing the signe of the crosse is left out of our communion, because of the superstition and idolatry: mee thinke by the same reason, it should be left out of the Sacrament of Baptisme.*

Answer.

If the crosse was superstitiously abused in the masse, & therefore is left out of our communion, where it hath not so fit an vse as it hath in Baptisme, our church hath therein vsed a religious caution. But if hauing remoued the fore-named corruption, and restored the crosse to his first institution, shee hath retained the same in the sacrament of Baptisme (symbolizing therein, not with the Papisticall, but with the primitive church) shee hath done in that, no more then shee might, hauing full iurisdiction, to ordaine lawfull ceremonies at her owne discretion. *Looke pag. 26.*

## The tenth obiection.

*transient.*  
 Seeing the second commandment (as I conceive the meaning) forbiddeth all religious images, mentall or corporall, permanent or transient; I desire to haue it showed, how the likenesse of the crosse, being for religious use, to bee a token of our religion, is not against the second commandment.

## Answer.

This tenth obiection may be thus collected: *All religious images are forbidden vnto vs in the second commandment. But the signe of the crosse is a religious image: Ergo; It is forbidden in the second commandment.* For your Maior proposition: if by religious images you had vnderstood onely, such as are made to bee religiously adored, wee should quickly haue agreed: but you taking the name of [Religious] in a sense of such enormous largenesse, viz. for any thing, that any way, may helpe vs in religion, as appeareth in the exposition of your Minor; I must needs require some better reason then your owne coniecturall conceipt, that all such images are in that commandment forbidden: Otherwise, your proposition I deny as false; and that for these reasons: First, because I dare not condemne, all those famous and renowned churches, which euen from *Christs* time vnto ours, haue vsed the crosse, to haue beene idolatrous; nor those ancient, learned, and godly Fathers, which haue thought and taught so reuerently of it, to haue beene idolaters: which absurdity must needs follow, if either this obiection, or your fourth, haue any waight in them. Secondly, because I finde the whole streame of expositors to bee against you: amongst whom I haue giuen instance both in *Caluine* and *Beza*, and of our owne translators of the *Geneua Bible*, pag. 21. Whose instances I wish you more deeply to consider of, and how farre

their

their iudgement differeth from your proposition. Thirdly I finde the practise of God himselfe to be against you in commanding the *Cherubines* to bee placed in the Tabernacle; which (as Bishop *Babbington* truly collecteth) must needs make GOD contrary vnto himselfe, if all religious images were so simply forbidden in the second commandment, as you affirme in your proposition. Fourthly (to come to our owne particular instance) if the signe of the crosse were simply forbidden in the second commandment, then were not only Gods practise contrary to his precept, but also one precept were contrary to another. For he commandeth expressly in the prophetic of *Ezechiel*, to mark certaine men in the fore-head with the signe of the crosse, which there he calleth *Signum Tan*; which being by *Character* expressed (as there it is commanded) hath none other forme then the signe of the crosse, as *S. Hierom* expressly expoundeth that place: *Thau litera, crucis habet similitudinem, qua in Christianorum frontibus pingitur*. Therefore this second commandment, doth neither particularly forbid the signe of the crosse, nor generally all kinds of religious images, but onely, *in ordinatione ad cultum*: to which purpose the crosse is not vsed in our Church, where (as you know) it is not worshipped.

Now for your *Minor*, that *our crosse is a religious image*: that is more false then the former was. An image, our crosse cannot be called, but in a very constrained sence: seeing that, in making it, we do not intend, either to expresse, or to honor that materiall crosse, wherevpon our Sauour suffered (whose image you would insinuate that signe to be) but onely to testify by that outward signe, that we are not ashamed of the sufferings of *Christ*. As for the outward scheme & representation of the crosse, it more properly may be called a character, then an image, as I shewed you before in the letter *Tan*, whose character is the perfect forme of the crosse, as is likewise the *Romane T*. as *Tertullian* obserueth; seeing that we referre it, not *eiconically* to represent the crosse of *Christ*, but

Babbing. vp 6  
the second  
commandment.

Ezech. 9. 4.

Hier. in Ezech.

ordine

Tertul. lib. 3.  
cont. Marcion.  
cap. 22.

Bellarm. de  
imagin lib. 2.  
cap. 28. 29.

Ruffin. lib. 2.  
eccles. hist.  
cap. 29.  
pag. 7.

Whig. pag.  
290.  
723.

*Symbolically* to represent his passion, by that character. Now, that characters and images bee of two diuerse natures, the *Turkes* plainly shew vs, who are most superstitious in auoyding of images, & yet they do willingly admit of characters, as appeareth in their coines. So that the crosse can no more properly be called an image, then the letter T. can. Yea euen the Papists themselues deny it to bee an image, as appeareth by their distinguishing of *imago crucis*, from *signum crucis*, which is much more true in vs, whose signe of the crosse, is made rather to represent the sufferings of Christ, then the crosse whereon he suffered. But, if our signe were a perfect resemblance of that crosse, yet, as long as we vse it not, in any such sense, it ought not, as an image to bee objected vnto vs. The *Hieroglyphiks* of the *Egyptians*, were (in their shape and proportion) the images of birds, and beasts, and other creatures, amongst which was also the crosse, as *Ruffin* reporteth, vnder which they signified *the life to come*: but yet because they vsed those figures but only as *Characters*, they are there to bee reputed, not as images, but as letters. And therefore the signification of images is stretched and strained very far when such a poore character, (cleane contrary to the vse of it) yet is fetched within the compasse of them.

I haue benee the more carefull to vindicate the crosse from this opinion of beeing an image, not that it would hurt or preiudice the cause any whit if it were granted to be one, but because I do see, that *T.C.* and his followers haue such an notable art in making of images & idols, that if they happen to mylike any thing whatsoever, they can presently transforme the same into an idol, & make it as contrary vnto Gods commandement, as it is vnto their owne priuate fantasie and conceipt. In this place you make the crosse an image; and, in your 4. obiection, you make it an idol; So likewise *T.C.* in one place maketh the *sarplice* an idoll, calling it a wouen image: in an other place, he calleth a Bride, an idol. because her husband saith, *with my body I thee worship*. And thus euery thing

which

which they misconcept, is by and by mishaped into an idol. Whereas it is most true, that they make an idol of their owne idle fancy, and priuate conceipt, for the honor of which bable, they despise magistrats, violate lawes, & force the very scriptures themselves. But, to returne. You cal the crosse, not only an image, but also a religious image, and yet (as you know) we do not worship it: nor place any holines or religion in it, more then in other ceremonies: neither make we it a substantial part of Gods seruice, but onely circumstantiall: vsing, it only as an ecclesiasticall ceremonie, appointed in our church by humaine authority, and not inioyned by God, vpon mere necessity. And therefore whensoever our church (whom wee ought dutifully to obey in all things, as our mother) shall cease to command vs the vse of that ceremony, we may then cease it lawfully, neither euer wil call for it as a matter of necessity: but will truly professe with *Minutius Felix*, *nos crucem neque adoramus, neque optamus*. In the meane season, if we vse it while it is commanded, wee do not offend against the second commandement: but, they which refuse it, offend against the fifth, of not honoring, with obedience, their lawfull magistrats.

Cal lib. 4.  
Instit. cap. 1.

Sec. 10.  
In octauio.

#### The eleauenth obiection.

*I desire to haue it opened vnto mee, by the word of God, how this signe can bee affirmed to bee an honorable badge, whereby to dedicate vs vnto him that died vpon the crosse. This (as I vnderstand) is proper to the two Sacraments, so bee the badges of our profession.*

#### Answer.

This scruple here propounded, is nothing at all to the sum of this question, *whether there crosse may be lawfully used, or no*. For, what if some men had applied the name of a badge, not altogether properly vnto the crosse, doth it therefore follow, that to vse it, is altogether vnlawfull? Surely those

the.

men



men will take any occasion to refuse it, that will take so light an occasion to condemne it. For what is it (I pray you) that in this name offendeth you? is it the title of *Honorable*? or the title of a *Badge*? For the first, that ought not: for I know none but infidels that doe hold the crosse a dishonour vnto *Christians*. And I know againe, that the ancient *Christians* did purposely vse this signe before the face of infidels, to shew them, that that which they counted their shame, they themselues esteemed to bee their glorie: so honorable a badge did they take the signe of the crosse to bee. Is it the name of a *Badge*, which so much offendeth you? why? that is but onely a *metaphoricall* appellation; to signifie that it is a note or a cognisance, whereby *Christians* may bee knowne. What is there in this name, that can offend any wise man? The name of a badge is so farre from being appropriated to the sacraments in the scripture, that it is not so much as once giuen them there, so farre as I remember. Onely, by *analogy*, it may bee applyed vnto them: and so may it likewise vnto ceremonies too, which (as I cited before out of *Aquinas*) be nothing els; but *Protestationes quadam fidei*, that is, badges and testimonies of our faith and profession.

*Ob.* But you reason against that title in this manner.

*There bee no moe badges of our profession but two; viz. the two Sacraments. But, the signe of the crosse is neither of them. ergo. No badge of our profession.*

*Resp.* For your proposition, I take it to be vtterly false: and to be your owne sole and singular opinion, wherein (so farre as my reading stretcheth) I find not one fellow to keepe you company. No Diuine that I know, doth make the two Sacraments the sole badges of the Church. *Caluin*, vnto the Sacraments addeth the preaching of the word, as an other note of the Church, *Luther*, not onely addeth it vnto them, but also preferreth it before them; making, the *Preaching of the word* an essentiall note, as beeing of the very *Esse* of the Church. The Sacraments he maketh but onely accidentall,

Cal. Instit. lib.  
4. cap. 1. Sec. 9

Luther. lib. de  
concilijs et  
Ecclesia.

as belonging but onely to the *Bene esse*. With whome likewise consenteth that worthy *Doctor Whitaker*, a man (as all men knowe) not other wise *Lutheranizing*. *Beza*, vnto the word and *Sacraments* addeth also *Discipline*, as yet another note of the Church. *Luther* againe in the forecited place, addeth fouer other badges vnto his forenamed. *viz*: *The power of the keyes*. *The ordination of ministers*. *Praier in publike assemblies*. and *the crosse of persecutions*. By which it appeareth that though all *Diuines* do make the *sacraments* the badges of the Church, yet that none of them do make them the onely badges, as you expressly do.

*Ob* But you desire to haue it proued by scripture, that the *signe of the crosse is a badge of the Church*.

*Resp*. Let me answer you as *CHRIST* once answered the *Pharisees*. I wil also propound a like condition vnto you. Proue you by the scripture, that the crosse can not bee a badge of the Church: or that the *sacraments* are the onely badges of it. Either is this condition which I propound, equall, or else that which you propound, must needs bee vn-equall. For (as *Tertullian* noteth, to this very purpose) *ex-postulantes scriptura patrocinium in parte diuersa, praiudicant, sua quoque parti scriptura patrocinium adesse debere*. If wee must bring scripture who haue the law for our doings: then much more should you do so, who haue the law against your doings. But, that you can bring none, wee are verily perswaded: and yet I will shew you that wee can bring some. In the old testament, *GOD* himselfe who appointed circumcision for a badge of their profession, gaue them also (for another badge) their *Fringes* and *Phylacteries*. In the new testament, our Sauour *CHRIST*, who gaue vs his *sacraments* for badges of our profession, yet (besides these two) he telleth vs of another, and a surer. *By this shall all men know that you are my disciples if you loue one another*: making *Christian* charity the cognisans of *Christians*. In the primitiue Church the first beleeuers, not contenting themselues with

Whit. cont:  
Bellar: quæst:  
5. de Ecclē:  
Beza: lib. con-  
fess: cap: 5.  
Sect: 7:

Math. 21. 24.

Tertul. lib. de  
Coron. cap: 1.

Num: 15. 38.

phylacteries.

Iohn. 13. 35.

A&amp;S. II. 26.

the sacramēts for badges, to ke vnto them-selues a new one, to wit, *The name of Christians*. So that if a badge be nothing els, but a cognisā or note whereby a thing may be knowne, you see it now proued by the very scriptures, that not only sacramēts be badges of our professiō, but also outward garmēts inward vertues, yea & significant names too: which (indeed) are nothing els, but *Nota rerum*, the *markes*, and *badges*, & as it were the *Cognisances* whereby things be knowne. These instances out of the Scripture show that the signe of the crosse, though it be not a sacrament of *CHRIST S* owne institution, yet that it may be a badge of our profession: as it was amongst the *Christians* in the primitiue Church, who tooke it vp in vse, for this speciall purpose, to testifie vnto the world, that they were *Christians*, and not *Pagans*.

testimonie.

Martyr: Epist.  
ad Hooperum.

If for this speciall ceremonie of the crosse, you still do require more particular testimonie out of the scripture, I answer with *Peter Martyr*, in a like case: *Non necessario requiritur, ut in sacris literis expressam mentionem exhibeamus, singularum rerum quas usurpamus*. It is enough that wee haue not the Scripture against it, if wee haue the law for it.

## The twelfth obiection.

*Lastly, because conscientia must be regulata: and regula conscientiae is onely vox and verbum Dei, who alone is lord of the conscience: I humbly craue, that my scruples may be satisfied by the word.*

## Answer.

For the rule of our conscience, you rightly define it to bee the word of *G O D*. And therefore, seeing this ceremonie of the crosse hath no particuler testimonie, either *Pro* or *contra*, in the word of God; that generall rule of the

Apostle.

Apostle Peter, to submit our selues vnto all ordinances of man for the Lords sake, ought to bee the rule of all our consciences. Which is a more plaine and direct testimony of the word of GOD to guide our conscience vnto obedience, then euer I could as yet see brought, so much as to colour your disobedience. which hath caused me often times to muse, with what face men could make such a pretence of conscience, not to yeald their obedience in these indifferent matters, when as their conscience therein is without his rule: And therefore must needs be either an equiuocall conscience, that is (in truth) no conscience at all: or els (at the least) an vnruled conscience, yea and an vnruely too, in keeping such a rule for indifferent things, of which they haue no rule in the scripture, but onely that forenamed rule of S. Peter, which most apparantly they transgresse.

1. Pet. 2. 13.

## The obiectors conclusion.

*I doe earnestly craue, to haue the answeres of my doubts set downe, that I may the better ponder them: and that I may haue leaue, if (after answer) any scruple remaine, modestly to propound it.*

## Answer.

I wish, that other men, which dissent in opinion as concerning these matters, would take this wise and godly course (which your selfe haue done) for their satisfaction: to shew the grounds of their scruples distinctly and plainely: and to propound vnto themselves not victory, but verity, without altercation or obstinacy. Surely, if this course had bene taken from the beginning, many fruitles contentions had receiued an end: the consciences of many men had bene lesse offended: the liues of all men better reformed:

the calling of the ministry more regarded, their preaching more obeyed, and the Church in generall better edified, which now by our contention is greatly damnified.

I haue therefore (for your particuler satisfaction) set downe (as you desire) mine answers in writing. If any scruple as yet remaine vnresolved, it shall, with no lesse modestie by me be answered, then it is vnto me by your selfe propounded.

*God giue vs all his grace, to keepe the vnity of the spirit,  
in the bond of peace. Amen.*

The same party (being fully resolved for ten of his obiections; but as yet vnstatisfied, as concerning two of them, viz. the third, & the tenth) brought these obiections after, to receiue a further answer.

*A reply to fortifie the third obiection.*

*My third reason (mee thinke) hath not yet receiued his full satisfaction: which for the more euidence, I thus frame & fortify.*

*All reliques and monuments of idolatry (being no creatures nor ordinances of God) vsed in Gods seruice, are unlawfull.*

*But, the signe of the crosse is such. It is a monument of idolatry, and vsed in Gods seruice; Ergo, it is unlawfull.*

The proposition is thus backed.

First, a monument being nothing but that which admonisheth our minde of any thing, it must needs bee, that being abused to idolatry (being no way of Gods creation nor ordinance) and remaining to posterity immediatly after the abuse, are reliques and monuments of idolatry. Concerning which, God hath plainly declared his will, where hee com-

*Deut. 12.3.*

mandeth



mandeth to cut downe the groues, and to burne them, to ouer-throw the altars, to breake the images in peeces, &c. *And thou shalt not doe so to the Lord thy GOD. Also thou shalt pollute the couering of the Images of Siluer, and the rich ornaments of the Images of golde, and cast them away as a menstruous cloath.* Where necessarily in cleere reason, wee must vnderstand, that GOD will haue done away all of this kinde, as well as these particuler: here named: yea, all that hath any neerenesse or affinity with idolatry, and which may bee as inticements to turne vs from God and his pure worship, from which we are so apt to decline, if we haue the least occasion. Such is mans extreame propension vnto superstition: as the example of the Iewes euidenth. Vpon these grounds our church worthily (in a religious care of preserving vs sincere in Gods seruice) hath abandoned good-lofts, wax-candles, and other infinite reliques and monuments of idolatry.

Isai, 30.22.

For the Assumption: The signe of the crosse to bee none of Gods creatures or ordinances, but the inuention of men, it is cleere. Also, that it was idolatrously abused of the Papists, by whom it is immediatly left vnto vs. And it hath a certaine fitnesse to bring their idolatrie to minde, as often as it is vsed in diuine seruice: therefore a monument of idolatry, howsoeuer vsed by vs vnto another end, which might haue kept in all other monuments of superstition whatsoever, euen Heathenish idols; for it is an easie thing to deuise a different end and vse of them, from that where-vnto they were applyed by idolaters. Now, if things abused vnto idolatry be vnlawfull, then the signe of the crosse, being more then that, euen made an Idoll, as hauing diuine adoration, holinesse and vertue giuen to it, much more (in that respect) should be reckoned vnlawfull.

Answer.

As concerning your *Maior* proposition, That *all monuments*

and reliques of idolatry are unlawfull, it must first bee examined and distinguished, before it bee either admitted or denied.

Orig. hom. 5.  
in Plal. 36.

Festus in voce,  
Monimentū.

First therefore as concerning these two words, of [ *Relique* ] and [ *Monument* ] what your meaning should bee in them, it is not plaine and apparant. A *Relique* in his originall sense, is properly nothing else, but the remainder of some body, which is for the greatest part consumed, as *Origen* noteth. *Quæ superest pars corporis, reliquia nominatur*. A monument, is some new worke, erected and instituted for the remembrance of that old body, which before was decayed. Both these words, by the common and ordinary Ecclesiasticall vse of them, imply, that both a *relique* and a *monument* are purposely destinated, to preserve the remembrance of that subiect, of which it is either a *relique* or a *monument*: as *Festus* noteth.

2. Cor. 6. 16.

Now if you take a *relique* or a *monument* of Idolatrie in this sense, for either a remainder of that old idolatry which is now decayed, or a signe newly erected of purpose, to preserve the remembrance of it, for the loue and reuerence which wee beare vnto it: then I yeeld your proposition to bee very true, that all such *reliques* and *monuments* of idolatry, ought to bee rooted out, and none of them vsed in the seruice of God. For that were to mingle *light with darkness*, *Christ with Beliall*, and the *Temple of God with Idols*, as the Apostle *Paul* speaketh.

But, if you take the name of a *relique* of idolatry, for any thing which hath in idolatry beene vsed, though the abuse thereof bee now reformed, and the nature thereof (by an other vse) cleane changed, as it is in our signe of the crosse: Or, if you take the name of a *Monument*, for any thing what-so-euer may bring into our mindes the remembrance of idolatry, though not *ex instituto*, but *ex accidente*, then doe I vitterly denie your proposition, as false. And that for these reasons.

First, because your selfe, euen in that proposition where you would eradicate all monuments of idolatry, yet doe it with this reseruatiō, *If they be not either the creatures or ordinances of God.* So that you seeme to grant a speciall dispensation, vnto certaine monuments of idolatrie, to bee admitted againe into Gods seruice, namely if they be eyther Gods creatures or ordinances. Which (for ought that I know) haue by the word of God no greater immunities or exemptions, then haue mans ordinances and inuentions: as euidently appeareth by *Agags sheepe*, which were Gods creatures: and the brazen serpent, which was GODS ordinance: both which were destroyed, notwithstanding that indulgence which you seeme to giue them. So that the creatures of GOD haue no greater priuiledge, beeing monuments of idolatry, then other things haue. And I desire to know, either the place where, or the case when, or the cause why, such priuiledge is granted them? For I suppose that this clause of exemption, is but cunningly inserted into the proposition, onely to auoide the force of those euident examples which may be brought of GODS creatures and ordinances abused to idolatrie, which yet haue beene restored vnto their vses of piety: and to tye vs onely vnto the inuentions of man, wherein you suppose wee can bring you none instance.

So that, from this clause of your exemption, I thus argue.

*The creatures of GOD haue no greater priuiledge then the ordinances of the Church: But the creatures of GOD (by your owne confession) are priuiledged from destruction, though they haue beene abused vnto idolatry. Ergo. The ordinances of the Church are likewise priuiledged: and consequently the crosse.*

So that either you must shew by the testimonie of Scripture, where that speciall priuiledge is granted vnto Gods creatures, or else will wee plead it as a common lawe for

Locke p. 227.  
27.

ceremonies, and for mans inuentions, as it pleaseth you to call all ecclesiasticall constitutions, though T.C. haue an other opinion of them, as you heard before pag. 16.

The second reason which moueth mee to deny your proposition, is the iudgement and practice of the primitiue church against it, who haue admitted of diuerse inuentions of men in the seruice of God, which had formerly beene abused vnto idolatry, euen with deuils. To giue you one instance, about all exceptions,

Exception

The Christians in the primitiue church, conuerted those same temples into the houses of God, which had before bin consecrated vnto heathen idolls. These idolatrous temples are mans meere inuentions, erected not only without any warrant, but also directly against Gods commandement: and yet you see, that the primitiue and purest church made no scruple at all of vsing those temples, though they were the same *indisidua* that had beene abused, and haue an expresse commandement to be destroyed. Whose example (contrary to your position) all the reformed churches of Christendome do imitate, in vsing without scruple, those very same churches, which haue manifestly and manifoldly beene polluted with popish idols: which practise euen *Caluin* himselfe alloweth, *Neque nobis hodie religio est*, sayth he, *templa retinere quae polluta fuerunt idolis, et accommodare in usum meliorem*. Now, what can bee the reason, why both the primitiue church and ours should so fully conspire in vsing the same temples which haue beene abused, (contrary vnto the expresse and particular commandement of God as you imagin) but only this, that they thought not themselues there bound to vse destruction, where the things abused would admit a reformation, as it hath apparently done, no lesse in our crosses, then in our churches.

Deut. 12.2.

Cal. Exposit. in  
Exod.

If you call those temples, the creatures of God, because the wood and stone, and other materialls whereof they were made, are the creatures of GOD, you apply that name

vnp properly

vnproperly, and very abusiue: and, by the same proportion, I may likewise call the signe of the crosse, the creature of God, becaule, *In him wee liue and mooue, and haue our being: and without him is nothing made that is made: and, of him, and through him, and for him are all things.*

If you grant these temples to bee mans inuentions (as they can not be denied to be the workes of mens hands, nor of their heads neither) then must you either denie, that they were lawfully conuerted vnto the seruice of GOD, contrary to the running fireane of all Diuines, Or els you must cancell that, which before you auerred, *That it is unlawfull to vse the inuentions of man in the seruice of GOD, if once they haue beene abused vnto idolatry.*

My third reason of denying your proposition, is, that I doe finde you to bee singular in it, and all Diuines (beside your selfe) against it. *Peter Martyr*, in an Epistle which he writ to Bishoppe Hooper vpon this very question, giueth these preguant instances against your proposition. *I hat not onely the temples of heathen idols were conuerted into the houses of GOD: but also their idolatrous reuenues, dedicated to their playes, to their Vestalls, nay, to their deuills, yet were conuerted to the maintenance of Christian Ministers.* Hee addeth in that place many other instances, and hee deliuereth his iudgement in this memorable sentence, *Non mihi persuadeo pupatus impietatem esse tantam, vt quicquid attingit omnino readat contaminatum, quo, bonis et sanctis, vsus pio, non possit concedi.* Marke *vsus pio*. With him likewise consent, both *Lucer*, *Quaeter* and *Bullenger*, whose sentences beeing long to write heere, and yet very worthie the reading, you may finde in Bishoppe *Whigys* booke, pag: 276. 277. yea and euen *T. C.* himselfe (contrary to his owne Doctrine) yet is forced, by the euidence of the truth to yeelde thus much, *I hat things abused to idolatry, may lawfully bee vsed, in the Church, so that first they bee purgified from their abuse.* Yea and in an other place, hee yeeldeth that

Act. 17. 28.  
John. 1. 7.  
Rom. 11. 36.

Pet. Mart.  
Epist. ad Hooperum.

*vsus  
pio*

Whig. pag.  
284.



256.

euen monuments of idolatry (note your owne word) may bee vsed in the Church, so that there come manifest profit of them. Neither speaketh hee there of either the creatures, or ordinances of God, but of the *Cappe* and *Surplice* which are mans inuētions, both which, though he affirmeth to be monumēt of idolatry, yet he granteth that they might be vsed in the church, but that they be altogether without any profit.

Tertul lib. de  
Coron cap. 8.

And againe he professeth of them, in that place that they neither haue any pollution in themselves, nor transfuse any pollution vnto their wearers, but that hee reiecteth them for lacke of profit in them, and not onely because the Papists haue abused them. Vnto these I might ad *Tertullians* iudgment, who giueth many instances, of heathen mens inuētions which haue notably bin abused vnto idolatry, and yet had good vse in Christianity amongst which, these be some; that letters were first inuented by the heathē god *Mercury* & *Physick*, by the heathen god *Esculapius* & yet the first of these he granteth to bee necessary, *non solum commercij rebus sed et nostris erga deum studijs*: the second, though it were the inuentions of a heathen, yet was vsed both by the prophet *Isay* towards king *Ezechias*, in prescribing him his plaister: and by the Apostle *Paul* towards his scholler *Timothy* in prescribing him wine, in steede of water. Yea, and he further affirmeth, that our Sauiour Christ himself, when he girded him with linnen to wash his disciples feete, did therein vse the proper habit of the heathen god *Osiris*. And he determineth this question, with this conclusiō, that al those inuentions of heathen gods, may be vsed in the seruice of Christ and the true God, which do either bring to men, a manifest profit [as *Mercury* his letters do] or, a necessary helpe [as *Ezechias* his plaister did] or, an honest comfort [as *Timothies* wine did], the rest, which haue none of these vses, he condemneth.

in/bention.  
Isai. 38. 21.  
1. Tim. 5. 23.

My fourth reason why I deny your proposition, is, because euen you your selues, by your practice, confute it, in admitting and wearing the cappe and the surplice, which are nei-

ther

ther the creatures nor ordinances of God, but meere inuentions of men, honored by the Papists with an opinion of holiness, and abused by them, in their idolatrous seruice; and immediately from the Papists themselues, left vnto vs, and censured by the reformers, to bee the *Preaching signes of Popish priest-hood, Antichristian apparrell, and garments of idols*. Which (as your selfe out of the prophecy of *Isay* alledge) ought to bee destroyed: Notwithstanding, all which, you are content to vse them. Now I would gladly know a reason, why these things may be vsed, and the crosse (being of the same nature, if not of a better) should bee so obstinately refused. For euer these forenamed instances (to let the crosse passe) are a practicall confutation of your theoricall opinion, *that no monuments of idolatry may be vsed in the church, vnles they be either the creatures, or ordinances of God*. This position you your selues doe manifestly confute, in vsing the surplice: which (peraduenture) is the same *indivium* which hath bin abused, whereas the crosse (without peraduenture) is not the same. I write not this, as misliking your conformity and obedience in those things, but as wishing it in the rest; wherein I see no greater caule of dissenting, then there is in this, notwithstanding all those tragicall exclamations that the reformers vse to aggrauate the matter: Wherein they doe nothing els; but according to the prouerbe, *tragedias agere in nugis*, whose vehement exaggerations, as you haue neglected in the vse of the surplice, so haue you as great reason, to doe the same, in the vse of the crosse: which you can not condemne as a monument of idolatry (being so simply vsed as it is in our church) but you therein mult condemne the whole world of Christianity, with who it hath (fro the beginning) bin in vse.

*Ob.* But you bring, for the strengthening of your proposition, three seuerall kinds of proofes. The first from the notation of the name of *Monument*. The second, from the testimony of the scriptures. The third, from the practice of reformed churches: wherein you giue instance in our owne.

Whitg. pag.

282.

261.

283.

Every one

aggrauate.

Pag. 20. 12.

Your first prooffe, That all monuments of idolatry are to bee abolished is this: because they bee ordained to preserve and continue the remembrance of it, which you shewe by this Notation of the name, that *Monimentum*, is. *quasi monens mentem*. Whereby it appeareth, that you take the name of *monument*, not for that which casuall, but for that which purposely admonisheth the minde: that so, by mouing a remembrance of it, it may stirre vp our desire and affection towards it. For otherwise, it may mouere, but it doth not promouere: it moueth our remembrance to no purpose, if it draw not our affection to that purpose. So that you make a monument of idolatry, to bee (in effect) a muniment of idolatry.

pag. 53. 62.

*Resp.* I will take none exception at your notation, because I finde it backed both by *Festus* and *Nonnius*; though that termination [ *mentum* ] doth not alwayes imply *mentem*, as appeareth in many words; *Condimentum*, *Pigmentum*, &c. But if you take the name of *monimentum*, in this sense, for that which purposely preserveth the memorie of any th ng, either for loue or honour sake; I haue yeelded before, your proposition to be true; that no such monument of idolatry is lawfull to be used in the seruice of God: But then with what conscience can any man affirme, that our crosse in Baptisme is such a monument of idolatry? which all men know to bee instituted for a farre other end, then to preserve the remembrance, of Popery amongst vs, or to stirre vp any mans affection towards it.

Cafa.

pag. 11. 12.  
53. &c.  
Whitgift.  
pag. 277.

If you take the name of *monument* in a larger sense, for any thing whatsoever, which may bring it vnto our remembrance, either *casu*, or *consilio*, then I say it is a false and a dangerous position, to hold that al such monuments of superstition ought to bee destroyed, as I haue formerly declared. For then (as *Gualter* truly noteth) *We should pull downe our Churches, and renounce our liuings, nay wee should abandon not onely our ceremonies, but also our Creede, our Sacraments,*

and

and prayers, all which may casually bring to our remembrance that idolatry of the Papists, wherein they haue beene abused. Besides, this absurdity would follow of it; If all such casuall admonitions should bee condemned; that the same crosse, at the same time, admonishing the Papist of his popish adoration, and the protestant of Christs death and passion, should at one and the same instant, be both a monument of idolatry and of true piety, and so should be lawfull and vnlawfull, both at once. And therefore, it were a miserable extending of the name of *monument*, to stretch it vnto all such casuall admonishments, and to condemne them as vnlawfull.

*Ob.* But you haue a second and a better prooffe, taken out of the Scriptures, where you alledge two places: the one Deut. 12. 2. 3. where the Temples, the altars, the grones, the pillars of Idols are commanded to be destroyed, as well as themselves. The other place is, Isai. 30. 22. where further euen the garments and ornaments of idols are commanded to bee abolished. And your glosse goeth yet further; that not onely the particulers in those places named, but also all that hath any neerensse or affinity with idolatry ought to be destroyed, without any limitation of vses, or mitigation of this rigor, how profitably soeuer they may be employed.

*Resp.* Wherein I see, that you dissent as farre from T. C. (who is not so straight-laced in this point of idolatry, but he thinketh it very lawfull to vse the gold and siluer of idols garments) as he dissents from Calvin, who thinketh it vterly vnlawfull. Therefore *S. Augustines* iudgment is worthy the hearing, who in his Epistle vnto *Publicola*, doth fully and soundly decide this question, and for these places alledged bringeth a very good exposition; namely, that GOD hath commanded such things to be destroyed, not as being simply vnlawful to all vses, but to reſtraine mens greedy & couetous desires, in conuerting them vnto their priuate vses; *ut appareat, nos pietate ista destruere, non auaritia.* In which Epistle he most plainly determineth of this whole question: the sum of

Whitgift. pag.  
273.

Cal. in Isai.  
cap. 30.

Aug. epist.  
154.

Iosh. 6.19.  
Iudg. 6.25.26

Note this.

altercation.

hir.

whose determination may be digested into these few *aphorismes*. 1. that the temples, & groues, and other such monuments of idolatry, may bee destroyed by those men that haue lawful authority. 2. that beeing so destroyed, there ought nothing of the vnto our owne priuate vse to be reserved, 3. that yet notwithstanding, vnto publik vse, they may be imploied, yea, & not only to common vses, but also vnto religious vses too, *in honorem dei*, as he proueth by two instances, *viz*: the metals of *Hierico* laid vp, for Gods tabernacle, & the groue of *Baall*, cut downe, for Gods sacrifice. 4. that the reducing of such abused creatures vnto a better vse, is all one (in effect) with the reducing of a wicked man, vnto a better life. 5. that yet this prouiso must bee vsed, that prouision bee made, that they be not stil honored. This is the whole sum of S. *Augustines* decision; agreeing in many points with *Peter Martirs* iudgement vpon the same question; *Epistola ad Hooperum*. Both which learned Epistles are very worthy the reading, of all men which are perplexed with such intricate doubting, where they may finde great stay and comfort for their conscience, if in truth and sincerity they do seeke for resolution, and not in pride and singularity for alteration.

Ob. The third prooffe of your proposition, is drawne from the example of our owne reformed church, whose practise sheweth his iudgement. She, in abandoning rood-loftes, crucifixes, wax-candles, and other like relikes and monuments of idolatry, sheweth, in these particulars, that generall position to bee true in hir iudgement, that, No relique or monument of idolatry ought to haue any vse in the seruice of God.

Resp. That all monuments of idolatry are to be abolished I haue formerly yeelded, taking those that be truly monuments indeed, that is, for such idolatrous things as are purposely reserved, to preserve the remembrance of idolatry amongst vs, that so wee may not be weaned from it. As for incense, wafers, wax-candles, and such like things, which haue beene misapplied amongst the Papists, and wrung to



a wrong vse, they cannot be called the monuments of idolatry, but in a very forced and equiuocall sense, if our church should retaine them in an other vse.

The Godly care of our church, in abandoning all true monuments of superstition, doth not inferre that the crosse is one: but rather proue that it is none, because our church hath not abandoned it.

Ob. *But you seeme to insinuate that our church hath therein erred, hauing as great a reason to abolish the crosse as either Rood-lofts, or crucifixes, or wax-candles, or any other like monuments of idolatry which she hath reiected.*

Resp. Whether our whole church or you, are more likely to erre, in truly iudging and esteeming the monuments of idolatry, let wise men iudge. That which our church hath done in abolishing such things, doth sufficiently defend that which she hath not done: vnlesse we should imagine al those churches which haue receiued the crosse, from the time of the Apostles, to be lesse wise, or lesse religious, in matter of idolatry, then a few priuate persons, sprung onely vp in our times, *Nimirum* (as *Tertullian* saith of *Marcion*) *liberanda veritas expectauit Cartwrightum*. All the world had surely died in idolatry, if *T. C.* had not helped to pluck it out.

But as concerning that discretion which our church hath made, in the abolishing of some things, and retaining of others, you are to vnderstand, that al the things she hath abolished be not of one nature; nor for one cause reiected. Some things she hath abolished of meere necessity, because they were simply vnlawfull, as the image of the crucifix, set vp vpon the Alter, of purpose to bee worshiped, and so knowne to bee notoriously abused. Other things shee hath abolished, onely vpon conueniency, because they were lesse profitable, as *Salt*, *Oyle*, *Wax-candles* and such like. These things shee hath abolished, not as monuments of idolatry, and things simply vnlawfull, but as needlesse ceremonies, and things not greatly profitable;

with

with whose vnprofitable number, shee would not haue her selfe vnecessarily burnd. Now, in these of the first sort, in that our Church hath abolished all parts and monuments of idolatry, shee hath therein discharged her necessary duty. In these of the second sort, in that she hath reuised some, and retained others, shee hath therein vsed her freedome and liberty, yea euen in the things by your selfe forenamed: as shee hath remembred her duty, to take away the abuse, to shee hath not forgot her liberty, to reffraine the things abused, the abuse beeing seuered. Such *crucifixes* shee hath remoued as were abused vnto idolatry, but yet left such still, as may admonish vs, by way of history. The roode shee hath cast downe, but left the lozt standing. Wax candles shee hath remoued from before the dead images, and yet retained them still, for the vse of liuing men, to see to praise God by. So that GOD is now praised, by the same light amongst vs, by which he was dishonoured amongst the *Papists*, as hee is likewise by our crosse. And therefore from the practise of our Church in destroying of idolatry you can gather no more, but that the crosse (beeing not destroyed) is no monument of idolatry: vnles you will assume a deeper iudgment to your selfe, then you will grant vnto our whole Church beside your selfe. This, for your proposition, and the prooffe thereof; that *All monuments of idolatry are unlawfull in GODS seruice.*

*Ob.* Let vs now come on, vnto your *Assumption* that the *signe of the crosse* is a monument of idolatry.

*Resp.* Your proposition I denyed but with a distinction: but your *Assumption* I do simply and absolutely deny. I deny that our crosse is either a relique or a monument of popish idolatry: and that vppon this reason following, which I wish may be well and throughly considered.

First as concerning the word *Relique* If our signe of the crosse bee a relique of the *Papists* crosse then must it of necessity bee a part of it as I showed beefore, out of *Origens*

definition

retaine

definition of a *Relique*. But our signe of the crosse is no part of theirs : and therefore , it cannot be a *Relique* of it.

That it is no part of theirs , appeareth by this reason: That euery part is either an integrall part, that is, a member of the same indiuiduall body : or else , an vniuersall part , that is either an *Individuum* of the same *Species*, or else, a *Species*, of the same *Genus*. But our crosse (as we vse it) is none of all these: it is neither a part of the same *Individuall* action, abused by the *Papists*; nor a whole *individuum* of the same *Species*; no, nor yet a *Species* of the same *Proximum* genus, and therefore it is not a part of theirs , and consequently no *relique*.

For the first of these points : That the crosse by vs vsed, is not any integrall part of that crosse which the *Papists* abused, it is cleare by this reason. Because euery seuerall crosse which any *Papist* maketh , beeing but a singular and indiuiduall action , it is so farre from beeing possible to be parted & diuided betweene two diuerse men , that it is vtterly vnpossible to bee iterated or renewed by one and the same man. *Heraclitus* said, (and hee said truly) that it was vnpossible for any man, *Eundem fluvium vis intrare*: taking *eundem* there, for *eundem numero*. And so may I say as truly, that it is vnpossible for any man, *Eandem actionem vis peragere*. For though the priest bee the same, and the hand the same, and the forehead the same, and the end the same, yet the action repeated is not the same : when he once hath made one singular crosse , he can neuer make the same crosse ouer againe. The same *opus*, *individo* hee may make againe; as a man may cast the same buller in the same mold a thousand times over : but the same *Action in individo* (*verbo causa*, his first casting of it) it is vtterly vnpossible hee should euer do againe. For to make a singular action againe, all these singuliers must concur: *Idem agens*, *idem patiens*, *idem agendi modus*, *finis*, *tempus*, all which are vnpossible to concur any oftner then once. So that our crosse is so farre from

Plut: lib de  
E.I. *his*

*his*

*verbi causa*

being an integrall part of theirs, that one of their owne crosses is no part of an other. And therefore our crosse can no more properly bee called a relique of theirs, then a bone of Saint Pauls body, can a relique of *Indu*, of which it is no member.

Let vs now see whether our crosse be a part of the same *totum uniuersale*, seeing it is no part of the same *totum integrale*. This point I thinke, if it duly be considered, will manifest to all men, that our crosse and the Papists, bee not so neere of kinne, as it hath bene imagined. Let vs therefore diuide the *Predicament* of *Action* into his senerall *Species*, that wee may know how to giue vnto euery one his right, and not vnskilfully to confound those things, which nature hath distinguished.



By this *Series* it appeareth, that our crosse is neither an *Individuum* of the same *Species* with the Papists, nor yet a *species* of the same *proximum genus*: but seperated from it, by three substantiall differences. The first is taken from the *Agents*, that theirs is the crosse of Papists, ours of Protestants: which maketh that these two actions cannot bee *indiuidua* of the same *species*. For a Protestant and a Papist are two diuerse *Species* or kinde of worshippers; and therefore their actions of worship, mult by consequent, bee as

differing

differing in *Species*, as bee their agents. The second difference betweene their crosse and ours (which maketh them yet more distant) is taken from their differing ends: a point which altereth the very nature of the actions. The Papists make their crosse as it were a kinde of *Exorcisme*, to keepe them from euill spirits: but wee doe make our crosse to no such superstitious end, but onely (as by a significant ceremonie to admonish our mindes of *Christs* meritts towards vs and of our duties towards him. These two differing ends, doe yet put a further difference in the actions. There is yet a third difference, which still remoueth them further: and that is, that that very *remotum genus*, of *Sacra actio*, vnder which, both the Papists crosse and ours is contained, yet doth not *predicari vniuocè* of them both, but of ours onely *uniuocè*: and of theirs, *equiuocè*: as *Homo* doth of *pictus* and of *uiuus homo*. For their crosse, though it be in name *Sacra actio*, yet is it in truth and in deed, *profana*. So that the Papisticall crosse and ours, agree but in two things: First, in the name, that both are called *Crosses*: and secondly, in the scheme and outward forme of the action; in that both of them bee made of one figure and fashion. But they differ in three points, of farre greater waight.

First in the nature of the actions, in that the one is truly a religious action; the other equiuocally religious, truly superstitious. Secondly, in the nature of the Agents: The one beeing sincere worshippers of the true GOD, the other corrupt worshippers of abominable Idols. And thirdly in the end of the actions; the one beeing destinated vnto true pietie, the other likewise vnto impious idolatrie.

Thus doe our crosse and their *soto genere differre*, so that the corruption of the one, cannot transfuse infection into the other: but that we may as lawfully vse ours, notwithstanding their vnlawfull abuse of theirs, as we may breath of the same ayre, into which Idolaters haue fumed their incense; or

Arist. lib. Categor. cap. 1.

theirs.



Aug. epist.  
154 ad Publ.  
licol. m.

Isai. 5. 20.

Pro. 17: 15.  
lib. 3. cap. 15.  
de lib. arbit.  
Tom. 1. p.  
662.

Isidor. lib. 14.  
Orig. cap. 11.

drinke of the same waters, in which Idolaters haue washed their sacrifice, as Saint *Augustine* truly noteth. And therefore these actions; being in nature so distant, the one so innocent and religious, the other so nocent and superstitious; if any man shall either condemne the one, for the abuses of the other, or condemne them both for the abuses of the one, it is all one iniustice, as if one should condemne an innocent creature, for the faults and vices of a malefactor; and it faileth directly into that woe of the Prophet: *Woe bee unto them that call good, euill; and euill, good.* And that againe of the *Wise man.* *He that iustifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the iust, they are both abomination unto the Lord.* For as Saint *Augustine* truly noteth, *Peccat, qui damnat quasi peccata, que nulla sunt.*

Thus our crosse (as you see) is no relique of their crosse, of which it is neither a member, nor a part. Now let vs see whether it be a *Monument* of idolatry, or no: your selfe do bring this *Etymon* of that name, that *Monimentum*, is *quasi monens mentem*, which is *Isidores* deriuation: which evidently sheweth, that the end of all *monuments* is admonition; and to keepe in our mindes, the remembrance of those things, which (otherwise) might happily decay amongst vs. Hence; temples, and Sepulchres, are properly called their *monuments*: vnto whom they bee dedicated. So that a *Monument* of that, in remembrance of which it was purposely erected, and not of any other thing, which by an other mans fantasie is thereby imagined. In this sence, our crosse, may truly be called a *monument* of *Christ* our Saniour crucified, for whose remembrance it is purposely intended; but why it should be called a *monument* of *idolatry*, it hauing no such end or purpose, as to conserue the memory of it, I can see no reason. A *monument* (as I sayd before) can onely be called a *monument* of that which intentionally it admonisheth, and not of any other thing, which conceipt and fancie from the same collecteth. For so we might quickly make

*Quid-*

*Quidlibet, ex Quolibet*, and euery thing might bee called a monument of all things: by so farre vnlike things are wee oft times put in minde of some other things. The *Israelites* by the long vse of *Manna* amongst them, were not onely put in minde of the flesh-pots of *Egypt*, but also prouoked to lust and desire them. Shall wee therefore say, that *Nanna* was a monument of their idolatrous food in *Egypt*, because by loathing of the one, they were admonished to lust after the other? A man oft times is admonished to remember some one thing, by another which is of a contrary nature, (as the prodigall child was, who by seeing the base estate wherein himselfe was, remembred the good estate wherein his fathers seruants were) yet cannot the one of these, bee called a monument of the other: because this admonition is meerely casuall, and not naturall. If then any man bee casuall admonished to remember the idolatrous crosse of the *Papist* by seeing of ours, this admonition proceeding, not *ab intentione agentis*, but *a corruptione spectantis*, cannot make our crosse a monument of theirs, no more then a Birde flying, or a man swimming, or a plowe going, or a ship sailing, may bee called a monument of the crosse, because by all these figures a man may bee put in minde to remember it, as diuerse of the Fathers haue obserued. *Iustine Martyr. orat. ad Antonium Pium. Ambros. Serm. 56.* So that our crosse can neither bee a relique of theirs, of which it is no part; nor yet a monument, of which it is no signe, and therefore your assumption (as I hope you see) is false.

*Ob.* But you confirme the same vnto vs, by three specciall proofes which demonstrate our crosse to bee a monument of superstition. The first is this: Because it was by the *Papist*: idolatrously abused, who ascribed vnto it, diuine Holinesse, Power, and Adoration. The second is, because it is from them left immediatly vnto vs. The third, because our pretence of a differing end in vsing it, is not a sufficient defense for it. Because by that reason, all other

Numb. 11.  
4. 5. 6.

Luk. 15 17.

monuments of Idolatry, yea euen idols themselves might be brought in againe. This is the summe of that fortification whereby you indeuor to make good your Assumption, that our crosse must needs bee a monument of idolatry. Let vs therefore consider of all these things apart.

Resp. For your first Obiection: that our crosse hath bene idolatrously abused, nay made a very idoll, you proue it by three instances: whereof the two first are insufficient. For, what if they thought the signe of the crosse to haue either greater holines, or greater power, thē indeed it had; must this needs make it become by and by an idoll? The *Iewes* thought both their holy citty *Hierusalem*, and the temple therein contained, to be a great deale holier then indeed they were: did this opinion of theirs therefore make those two thinges idols? *Elisha* in like manner, when he sent his staffe to raise the childe to life, did thinke it to haue had a greater power, then it had: yet did not that opinion make the staffe become an idoll. So likewise the *Papists*, in thinking the crosse to haue either a kinde of holynesse to sanctifie the vsers, or a kinde of power to driue away the diuills; in these fancies they declare, rather the error of their opinion, then the idolatry of their religion.

But your third instance of adoration, (if it bee indeed diuine which they giue vnto it: for all agree not in this point) that is a good demonstration, that to them it is an idoll. But what is that to vs? how followeth it, that our crosse must needs be a monument of idolatry, because theirs is an idoll any more then our oxen are monuments of idolatry, because the *Egiptians* oxen were their idols? Whether all oxen are made vnlawfull for the seruice of God, because some were made idols, that is an other question; but that all oxen must be monuments of idolatry (if our crosse be one) that is out of question. For, the reason which you make against the crosse, doth hold as strongly against the oxe; yea euen to the banishing him from all vse of the tabernacle (notwith-

Iſai. I. 21.  
Ier: 7. 4.

2. King: 4. 29.  
31.

indeed.

Bellar. Tom.  
1. cont. 7. lib:  
2. cap. 22. 24.

Exod. 8. 26.

standing

standing your inserted clause of exemption) if there bee any sound truth in your generall proposition.

*Ob.* For your 2. obiection; that the crosse is a monument of idolatry because it is immediatly left by the Papists vnto vs. That is faulty in all parts: for this must needs bee the summe of your argument, if it haue any argument.

*Whatsoeuer is left vs immediatly by the Papists, that is a monument of idolatry. But the crosse is left vs immediatly by the Papists. Ergo.*

*Resp.* In which argument, both your *Maior* and your *Minor* be false. First for your *Maior*: It is not the leauing of any thing vnto vs by idolaters, which maketh the thing left, a monument of idolatry, vnles it bee also a part of their idolatry. For, both the *Scriptures* and the *Sacraments* are left vnto vs (in your sence) by the *Papists*, who are knowne to be notorious idolaters: and yet neither of these (I hope) will you call, the monuments of idolatry.

*Ob.* But these (you will say) be the ordinances of God, and so may haue vse in the seruice of God, by that clause of exemption, which you haue inserted into your first proposition, that no monuments of idolatry (beeing neither the creatures, nor ordinances of God) can haue any vse in the seruice of God.

*Resp.* Though that clause of exemption admit them into the seruice of God; yet doth it not exempt them from being monuments of idolatry, if this bee a good reason which you here alledge why the crosse should be a monument of idolatry, beecause it is left vs immediatly by the *Papists*. For, the crosse is left vs none otherwise by the *Papists*, the both *Scriptures* & *Sacraments* are left vnto vs by them, yea & their idolatrous Churches too: which may truly & properly be called *Monumenta*, the monuments of idolatry. Vnto which you are forced to graunt an vse in *G O D S* seruice, notwithstanding they bee both the same *indiuidua* which haue beene abused, and are no better but the inuentions of men.

*Ob.* Now, for your *Assumption*, That the crosse is left vnto

1. Cor. II. 23.

leſſe  
imitation

Act. 15. 20.

would

vs immediately by the Papists, that is as false as your proposition was. For that only may properly be said to be left vs, which is *de manu in manum* deliuered vnto vs, as the Apostles did their Traditions vnto their successors. In a second and a more proper sense, that also may be said to be left vnto vs, which by imitation we borrow from others, as the apostles againe did, their law of *Blood* and *strangled*, from their predecessors, in the law. But neither of these wayes can the crosse bee said to be left vs by the Papists. For, first, vnto vs (whome they count heretikes) they could not leaue any thing which they hold so precious: and secondly, from them (whome wee count idolaters) wee would not borrow any thing, which wee held so superstitious. So that, neither of these two waies, is it left by them vnto vs. And much lesse the third way, which is, by *Desertion*, as though wee had come vnto it, *tanquam in vacuum possessionem*, for they still do fight for it, *tanquam pro aris et focis*. So that, I cannot see, how the crosse can be said to bee left vnto vs, by them, vnles you thereby intend, that we haue as it were wrung it out of their hands; and that so they left that to vs, which they could not with-hold from vs.

If you take this phrase [*left vnto vs*] in a sense so prodigally and prodigiously large, that you count all that to bee left vnto vs, by those men which haue vsed the same things before vs: then may both the sunne and the moone, and all the elements bee said to bee left vnto vs by idolaters, and consequently to be *The monuments of idolatry*. and so what is there any where, which (in this so large and so laxe a sense) may not be called *A monument of idolatry*?

As for this point, therefore, we truly professe, that wee borrow not this ceremonie from the *Romish Synagogue* (though they haue more lately vsed it) but from the primitive Church, who first ordained it. So that as it cannot truly bee said, that the Papists haue left vs either the Lords praier, or the Apostles creed, or the holy sacraments, but that



wee take all these (by our owne right) out of the holy scriptures, which are open to vs, as well as to them: so can it not truly bee sayd, that the Papists haue left vnto vs the crosse, but that we do borrow it from the primitiue church: whose customes, the *Papists* haue no more authority to ingrosse vnto themselues, then the *Protestants* haue: but may as freely be vsed by vs, as by them, for, *Paset omnibus veritas, nondum est occupata.*

But if it were granted, that this ceremony of the crosse, though left vnto vs by the primitiue church, yet were brought vnto vs by the hands of Papists, doth that presently make it a *monument of idolatry*? if one should receiue a token by the hand of a Pagan which were sent vnto him from a *Christian*; is it therefore made a *monument of idolatry*, because he that brought it was an idolater? *Holy orders* were giuen vnto the first *Protestants*, by the hands of *Papists*; doth this so defile the orders of our ministry, as to makethem presently the *monuments of idolatry*? Surely, though the *Papists*, haue very foule hands, yet do I not take them, to bee so vgly foule, as the *Harpies* secte were, which defiled all things that they once had touched: *non mihi persuadeo* (sayth *Peter Martyr*) *papatus impietatem esse tantam vt quicquid attingit, contaminatum reddat, quò bonis vni sancto, concedi non possit.* In whose Christian and charitable iudgement I doe willingly sit downe.

*Ob.* Now, for your third obiection. *That the change of our end in the use of the crosse, doth not make any change in the nature of the thinge.*

*Resp.* I wonder you will affirme a thing, so contrary vnto the rules of *Logike* and reason. Who knoweth not, that of all the causes, it is only *The end*, which maketh all actions to be either good or euill? especially in things of indifferent nature. *Tertullian* doth giue vs some instances to this purpose. *et ego mihi gallinaceum macto, non minus quam Esculapio* *Socrates* (sayth he) *et, si me odor alicuius loci offenderit, Arabia*

*Nostrum*  
quippe est,  
quodcunque  
de nostris,  
sumpsisse et  
tradidisse con-  
tigit illis. *Ter-*  
tul. lib. de tes-  
timonio ani-  
mæ cap. 5.  
*Senec. Epist.*  
33.

*Virg. lib. 3.*  
*Aeneid.*

*Aug. Epist. 48.*  
ad Vincent.

*Tertul. lib. de*  
*Coron. cap. 10*

*in lense.*

Aug lib. 4.  
cont. Iulian  
Pelagian cap.  
3.

Mar. 6. 2. 5. 16

*aliquid incendo.* What is the reason then, that his killing of a cocke, and his burning of incence, (beeing all one action with that of the idolaters) yet is not idolatry, as their action was? He answereth it himselfe: *quia, usus ipsius administratio interest.* And againe, that he did these things, *nec eodem ritu, nec eodem habitu, nec eodem apparatu, quo agitur apud idola.* So that, it was his difference in the end, which made such a difference in the actions. For (as Saint *Augustine* to the same purpose obserueth) *non altibus, sed finibus pensantur officia,* which our Sauour also declareth, by three notable instances in the *Pharises*, viz, *fasting, almes, & praying*, al which good actions were (in them) corrupted, by their euill ends, because, *they did them to be seene of men.* So that, the end (as you see) not only exempteth an action from sinne, but also infecteth an action with sinne.

*Ob.* But you say. *That then by altering of the end, wee may bring back againe euen heathen idols too.*

*Resp.* I answer, that the comparison is very vnequall. For heathen idols, are most evidently forbidden and condemned in the scripture, which the crosse is not. And yet that there may bee such an alteration in the end, that euen heathen idols may haue some vse in Gods seruice, I haue shewed you before out of Saint *Augustines* iudgment.

Pag. 59.

### A reply to fortifie the tenth obiection.

*Ob.* All outward formes and likennes in Gods worship, ordained by man, and that to edifie, teach, sturre up mens affections towards God: they are forbidden in the second commandment. This is by the very text necessarily consequent. *Exod. 20. 4.*

But the signe of the crosse is such a likenesse. For, *Maister Hooker*, an authentike expositor of our ceremonies, condemneth all as vaine, that are not significant. And your selfe shew that

to be your iudgement in your answer: Ergo, &c.

That of Saint Paul, that all ought to be to edifying, I pray to haue it considered, whether it bee vnderstood of such spirituall gifts onely, as God gaue to his Church, and as bee there named. 1. Cor. 14. 26.

er

Answer.

That all outward formes and likenesses ordained by man in the worship of God, to edifie, teach, or sturre vp our affection towards God, should bee forbidden in the second commandement, I doe vtterly denie: and I wonder that either your selfe, or any other *Christian* should affirme it; no word of the commandement making for it, and the minde of the commandement making cleane against it. The iudgment both of *Caluin* and *Beza*, and of other Diuines I haue shewed against you, pag. 21. 45. The place which you cite *Exod. 20. 4. Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, &c.* if you distract it from his meaning, which followeth in the next words, *Thou shalt not bowe downe to them, nor worship them*, doth make rather against the making of all images (which errour I thinke you will not maintaine) then against the applying them to so good an end, as you (in this place) seeme to condemne. Should any thing whatsoever be thought vnlawfull, which instructeth our mindes, and sturreth vp our affections truly towards GOD? Surely if you were able to make good, that euen Heathen Idols could truly and properly produce these effects, I would not doubt to affirme, euen them to bee lawfull. So farre am I from thinking that any thing is in this commandement forbidden, which either inlightneth our vnderstanding, or inflameth our affection towards God. I rather hold it for a certaine truth, that Idols are here forbidden, vpon a contrary supposition, namely, that they blinde our vnderstanding, and auert our affection away from God. And therefore your proposition wanteth some

Ab impossibi.

T.C. Whigg.  
256.

better prooffe, then your bare assertion : for (as I said) I doe simply deny it for false.

For your Assumption, that *The crosse is an image ordained by man for our better instruction and affection towards God* : I may simply grant, and yet grant it not therefore to bee forbidden in the second commandement.

This whole obiection is fully and sufficiently satisfied, in my former answer, both vnto your fourth and your tenth obiections : but that answer is not sufficiently taken away by this reply ; and therefore thether againe I returne you.

That place of Saint Paul, 1. Cor. 14. 26. *Let all things bee done vnto edification*, that it is principally intended of gifts, and not of ceremonies, I doe not deny : but that it may bee extended vnto ceremonies, as well as vnto gifts, I hope you will confesse, because all Diuines doe : amongst whom is T. C. for one, as authentickall an expositor of your presbyterie, as Maister Hooker is of our ceremonies. That ceremonies ought to bee without all signification, I take it to bee your sole and proper opinion, wherein you haue no *Divine* of any worth to bee your riual. And therefore I wonder you should so dote vpon it, as here (in a second place) to obtrude it, it hauing beene before sufficiently confuted, Pag. 8.9.

Whitgift. pag.  
86.

proper .  
→

*Gloria in excelsis Deo.*

## Errours committed in the Printing.

In the Epistle, Pag 2. line 18. read Author: In the Sermons, Pag 1. line 7. r. prescribe. pag 7. line 11. r. lacketh. Pag 12. line 32. r. by the name of Vanity. p. 13. line 15. r. which indeed is not: in the same r. and that therefore. Pag 19. in the margent, for Mat. 5. r. Mat. 15 p. 20. line 10. r. capiuntur p. 22. line 1. r. the doctor and his doctrine. line 34 r. Tatianus. in the margent, for Act. 5. r. 15. pag 31. line 7. r. to read them. line 8. r. life in them. line 25. r. the mind. Pag 33. for this word of a man. r. the word of a man. Pag 37. line 34. r. legitur. so pag 38. line 10. Pag 40. line 22. rea. mouing. Pag 41. line 27. rea. in the m. Pag 42. line 9. r. seducing. Pag 43. line 2. r. praying. pag 52. line 5. r. judgement. pag 57. line 13. r. and destinate. line 34. r. giuing. pag 58. line 1. r. ouer-ruled. pag 63. line 18. r. Ofchophoria. line 31. r. Hyperlidion. pag 66. in the margent r. defesto. pag 67. line 24. r. ninty fifth. pag 68. line 4. r. if any man. pag 79. line 13 r. execrument. pag 80. line 15. r. presently. pag 81. line 2. r. detection. line 4 r. our now most, & c. pag 91. in the margent, for Act. 3. 30. 1. r. Act. 3. Scen. 1. & for Act. 1. 50. 1. r. Act. 1. Scen. 1. P. 92. l. 13. r. reueling. pag 96. in the margent. l. 28. for 1. Cor. 11. 10. r. 1. Cor. 10. pag 98. line 24. r. against the pride. pag 101. line 31. r. idole-priests. pag 103. line 28. read spawned.

## In the Treatise of the Crosse.

Pag 3. line 14. read indifferencie. pag 8. line 19. r. credas pag 11. line 4. r. recta. Pag 13. in the margent, for p. 53. r. 60. line 29. r. a cause. pag. 15. line 19. r. to imitate. Pag 16. line 12. r. a detestation. line 21. r. were freely graunted. line 31. r. why should that be thought. Pag. 17. in the margent, r. pag. 42. Pag. 21. line 13. r. the subiect. line 29. r. communes vsui. Pag. 24. in the margent, for pag. 63. r. 74. and againe, for pag. 62. 63. r. 73. Pag. 27. in the margent, for pag. 54. r. 63. Pag. 28. in the margent, for pag. 20. r. 24. and for pag. 63. r. pag. 74. 75. Pag. 31. line 10. r. rixarum. Pag. 32. for, for the Sacraments, r. of the Sacraments. Pag. 36. line 35. r. disciplinz. Pag. 39. in the margent, for pag. 32. r. 37. Pag. 40. line 7. r. insufficient. Pag. 42. line 2. read apposite. Pag. 45. line 8. r. abolition, line 26. r. there ought, Pag. 48. line 6. r. there be two things. Pag. 49. line 19. r. A non sequitur. Pag. 51. line the last, r. pag. 31. Pag. 55. line 30. r. the crosse. Pag. 56. in the margent. for pag. 30. r. 35. Pag. 63. in the margent, for pag. 22. 23. r. pag. 27. Pag. 64. for pag. 16. r. 31. Pag. 65. line 26. r. vsuj pio. so also in the line following. Pag. 66. line 19. r. inuention. Pag. 67. line 12. r. euery one of these. Pag. 68. in the margent, for pag. 10. r. pag. 12. and for pag. 53. r. 62. and line 30. r. casu. Pag. 70. line 21. r. altercation. and line 23. r. hir. Pag. 72. line 9. r. retaine. In the margent, for pag. 53. r. 62. Pag. 73. line 21. r. bis: and so line 23. Line 28. r. opus in individuo. L. 30. r. verbi causa. Pag. 75. line 25. r. a monument is only a monument of that, Pag. 80. line 10. r. would. Pag. 82. in the margent, for pag. 59. r. pag. 69. Pag. 83. in the margent, for pag. 21. 45. r. pag. 24.

F I N I S.



1358 C.14.

FOVRE  
SERMONS,  
LATELY PREA-  
ched, by *Martin Fotherby*  
Doctor in Diuinity, and Chaplain  
vnto the Kings Maiestie. *K*

The first at *Cambridge*, at the Masters Commencement.  
July 7. Anno 1607.

The second at *Canterbury*, at the Lord Archbishops visita-  
tion. Septemb. 14. Anno 1607.

The third at *Pauls Crosse*, vpon the day of our deliuerance  
from the gun-powder treason. Nouemb. 3. Anno 1607.

The fourth at the *Court*, before the Kings Maiestie. No-  
uemb. 15. Anno 1607.

*Wherunto is added, An answere vnto certaine  
objections of one vnresolved, as concerning the  
use of the Crosse in Baptisme: written by him  
in Anno 1604. and now commanded to  
be published by authoritie.*

~~~~~

AT LONDON,
Printed by HENRY BALLARD, for
C. K. and W. C.
1608.

THE
SERMONS
LATELY PREA-

ched, by William Hall,
Doctor in Divinity, and Chaplain
unto the King's Majesty.



Printed by W. Hall, at the Sign of the Crown, in St. Dun-
stons Church-yard, London.

AT LONDON,
Printed by W. Hall, at the Sign of the Crown, in St. Dun-
stons Church-yard, London.

TO THE MOST REVEREND
Father in God, and singular Patron of all good
learning, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace,
Primate of all England, and Metropolitane, and
one of the Lords of his Maiesties most Honour-
able Prīvie Counsell.

RIGHT honourable, and my gracious
good Lord, I make bold to present to the
view of your wisdom, foure Sermons pre-
ached by me, though not very lately, yet not
very long since, vpon speciall occasions, as
their titles shewe. Becing hitherto vnwilling that they
should see the light; though thereunto I haue bene greatly
importuned, both by the instance of diuers my iudicious
friendes, and (for some of them) pressed, by the reuerend
authority of your Graces owne name, which (notwithstan-
ding) I haue hitherto detrected; as knowing how little need
full it is, to pester the world with any more booke, which
groweth already vnder the burden of them: Yet am I now
beaten from my former resolution, by the incessant importu-
nitie of certaine seduced, and seducing spirits, who (swelling
with a windie opinion of knowledge, falslie so called) haue
taken great exception at the second of these Sermons, which
was preached at your Graces visitation, and as yet, make no
end of iraducing it to the world, as tending directly vnto
the disgrace of preaching. For the detecting of whose igno-
rance, and conuincing of their malice, I am now not vn-
willing, to publish to the world what was spoken at that time:
if your Grace doe not esteeme it, as a thing borne out of time.
Not doubting, but that wick passed the fauourable censure

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

of so reuerend and so learned an assembly as then were the hearers, will now find like acceptance, with all that be indici-ous and indifferent Readers. As for Papists, and (their confederates in this cause) your schismatickes and Sectaries, I neither expect, nor respect their approbation of it. They be now (as we hope) not in any so great number, as that any great reckoning is to be made of them: especially, in your Graces peculiar Dioces, which (I am verily perswaded) is better defecated and purged, both from Papistes and Schismatiks, then any other quarter of this land; which as it is our most blessed peace and quiet, so may it be your Graces exceeding ioy and comfort.

These slender labours and indenours of mine, I presume to offer vnto your Graces patronage, not onely in respect of my strict obligation vnto your Lordship for many of your forepased most honorable fauours: but also, because (in true account) your Grace may rightly be esteemed the very anchor of all these, & my selfe but the instrument: they all of them receiuing their first motion and being (either directly, or occasionally) from your gracions fauour, as from their first mouer: which, as it giueth me full assurance of your honorable acceptance; so it bindeth me to performance of all dutifull obseruance; and to pray for the continuance of your Graces most prosperous and happie estate, that as God hath made you hitherto a notable instrument, to settle and establish both his truth and Church amongst vs, so wee may long inioy you, to the comfort of all them that wish well vnto them both.

Your Graces most obliged

to all humble duty,

MARTIN FOTHERBY.

The first Sermon, at Cambridge.

ECCLES. I. VER. 2.

Vanitie of vanities, saith the Preacher: Vanitie of vanities, all is Vanitie.

THE Iewish Rabbines prescribed vs this excellent rule for the right vnderstanding of every text of Scripture: *Qui non aduertit, & quid supra, & quid infra scriptum, is plane peruertit videntis Dei verbum*; He that weigheth not what is written, both above and below, shal neuer well expound that is written betwene them. Now, if we proceede by this rule in expounding of this Scripture, wee shall finde that King Salomon in this booke of the Preacher, had a two-fold end, the one of them subordinate vnto the other. For first, if we looke vpward to the beginning of this booke, we shall there finde this sentence which I now haue read vnto you, *Vanitie of vanities, all is vanity*: wherein his end and scope must needs bee, to bring vs out of loue and conceit with earthly things, as being vile and vnprofitable, nay, hurtfull and damageable; which there he implieth by this title of Vanity. Secondly, if we looke downeward to the end of this booke, we shall there finde this sentence, *Let vs beare the summe of al, Feare God and keepe his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man*: wherein his end must needs againe be, to bring vs into loue with diuine and heavenly things, and (as the Apostle Paul aduise) to make vs seeke those things that are above, as comprehending in them the

Cap. 12. 13

Col. 3. 1.

only true felicity; So that King *Salomon* in this booke hath(as I said)a double end: The first is to reuoke vs from the loue of the world: The second to prouoke vs vnto the loue of God, which will certainly ensue and follow in vs, if the former obstacle be removed from vs.

1. Iohri 4 16.

Plut. in vita
Solon.

For our God and Creator, who is perfect loue himselfe, hath made vs his creatures of such a louing nature, that (as *Plutarch* well obserueth) we needes must be alwayes louing of some thing: so that if our loue bee diuerted from the world, it needes must be conuerted vnto God; or else it should lie idle, which loue cannot doe; that is against the very nature of it.

Now King *Salomon* to diuert our loue from the world, and the things of the world, he vseth none other argument thorowout this whole booke, but onely this one, to tel vs they be Vanity: neither could he indeede haue vsed any reason more forcible to bring them into extreame contempt with vs, then by calling them Vanitie: for no word in the world doth more fully expresse the vile, and the thriftlesse and vnprofitable nature of these earthly things, then Vanity doth.

And therefore seeing that King *Salomon* so constantly vseth the name of Vanity thorowout his whole booke, whensoever he speaketh of any worldly glory; calling them stil Vanity, and Vanity of Vanities, and nothing but Vanity; it shall not be amisse to enter a serious and diligent inquisition, what should be heere intended by this name of Vanity. For we must not thinke that the holy Ghost doth iterate so often and beate vpon one word, either rashly, or idly, or casuall, or vnadvisedly, but for this speciall purpose; that we seeing this one word to be so often inculked, and so constantly vsed in every place, might take the greater heed vnto it, and searh with greater diligence into the hidden and inward meaning of it.

Neither shall it be a vaine or a needles labour thus to

hunt

hunt out this Vanity, but both profitable and necessary vnto our present purpose. Profitable, because if we know not what vanity meaneth, we shall neuer reape any profit by this admonition of King *Salomon*, in telling vs so often that *Aulis vanity*: for in the perfect knowledge of this one word, Vanity, consists the perfect knowledge, not only of this particular text, of which I now preach, but also of all this whole booke of the Preacher: which is nothing els in effect, but as it were a comment vpon this word, Vanity, as Saint *Augustine* obserueth. And necessary it will be, because the true knowledge of this word, Vanity, is a matter of greater difficulty, and more laborious inquisition, then any man would at the first imagine; as euidently appeareth out of *A. Gellius*: who maketh report of a notable conflict betweene two great and professed *Grammarians*, about this word Vanity, what it properly should signifie. Their controuersie being grounded vpon a place of *Salust*, where he censureth *Cn. Lentulus* to be such a one, as it was vncertaine whether he were, *Vanior*, or *Stolidior*; a more vaine or a more foolish kinde of man: the one of them maintayning, that both these two words did note but one vice, and that Vanity is nothing els but Folly: The other, that either of them deciphered a severall kinde of vice, and that Folly is one thing, and Vanity another; as hee there most plainly proueth.

But how soeuer these two *Grammarians* dissent, as concerning the particular vice designed in this word, yet they both consent in this, that it is a name of vice: and that it implieth, that all those things vnto which it is rightly applied, are of a reproveable and vitious nature. So that (as I said before) this Preacher could not possibly haue vsed any word which more fully layeth out and exposeth to our eyes the base and contemptible, the bad and vnprofitable nature of all earthly glories, then Vanity doth.

Saint *Paul* speaking of them, he vseth a very homely and

dishonou-

Aug. lib. 10.
De ciuit. Dei,
cap. 3.

A. Gel. lib. 18.
cap. 4.

Phil. 3. 8.

Matt. 5. 13.

Eccles. 1. 3.

Mal. 3. 14.

dishonourable name to expresse their contemptible nature by: he calleth them *Σωφῶν* that is, dung, or drosse, both of them, vile and base: but yet neither of them so vile as Vanity is. For both dung and drosse may haue profitable vses, but that which is vaine, that hath no vse at all, it is vtterly vnprofitable; it is like vnto salt, when it hath lost his saltnes, which is good for iust nothing, as our Sauour Christ teacheth vs. So that this Vanity is of a more vile and abiect nature then the vilest excrements of the most abiect creature: for there is none of all them, that is clearly without all vse, as Vanity is, in what significations soeuer you take it, as (if you will but looke into the diuers significations of this word Vanity, deliuered vnto vs by Heathen writers, and confirmed out of the holy scriptures) you may plainly see.

For I find this word Vanity, to haue fixe significations, & yet not one good one amongst them all, not one that implieth the least fruite or profit to be implied in it. To begin with that first, which I named last.

The first signification of this word Vanity, is al one with *Inuite*, that is to say, a thing without al vse, or profit, for so it foloweth immediatly after this text: *Quid emolumenti? What profit hath a man of all his labours wherein he hath trauailed vnder the sun?* He proueth al our labours about these earthly matters to be therefore Vanity, because there cometh no profit of them: for this is one essential note of Vanity, to be fruitlesse and vnprofitable: And therefore as God heere reasoneth against the world, that it is vanity because it is vnprofitable; so worldlings els where do reason against God, that his seruice is likewise Vanity, because it is vnprofitable: *Ye haue said, it is in vaine, that we haue serued God, and what profit is it that we haue kept his commandments?* They conclude it to be vaine, because it is vnprofitable. And the consequent is good if the antecedent were true. So that King *Salomons* first meaning in calling these earthly

matters Vanity, is so infinite thus much; that they be altogether fruitlesse and barraine of all good, and that there is no profit at all to be found in them. Saint Paul appealeth vnto the Romanes owne iudgement, what profit these earthly things haue brought them? *What profit* (saith he) *had ye then in these things, whereof ye are now ashamed?* And Solomon bringeth worldlings complaining, in this manner, of their vnprofitable labour about earthly things: *What hath pride me profited, or what hath the pompe of riches brought me?* So that when it pleaseth God to open a mans eyes, to see the true vanity of all earthly glories, in their owne proper colours, as he did the Romanes eyes, by the preaching of Saint Paul, then doe they see most cleerely, that there is no profit in them, but rather that they be such vaine and foolish things, as that they ought to be even ashamed of them, as the Apostle Paul implieth in the fore-alleged place. And surely, the true reason, why men are not ashamed, so foolishlie to bestow their vnprofitable paines about these transitorie earthly things, is, because God as yet hath not opened their eyes, to see the fruitlesse vanity of them, & how grossely they be deceived in them, their sight being blinded by the god of this world, as the Apostle Paul obserueth:

To giue you an instance or two to this purpose: The thief when he goeth about to steale, he hunteth after profit, and thinketh better to reach out a little, then to live in want; because the god of this world hath blinded his eyes: but when his punishment cometh, then he seeth his owne error, and then he is ashamed of it, and then he findeth by experience, that his stealing hath brought no profit to him, but incomparable losse. The licentious worldling likewise, when he hunteth after pleasure, he seeketh after that which seemeth good vnto him; because the god of this world hath blinded his eyes: but when his punishment cometh, then he changeth his minde, and then he seeth

Rom. 6.21.

Wisd. 5.8.

1. Cor. 4.4.

Wis. 7. 8.

his folly, and then he is ashamed of it; *Thus he hath so worried himselfe, in the waies of wickednesse, and yet hath got no profit by it, as is notably declared, in the booke of Wisdom.*

Ephes. 5. 11.

And even so is it likewise in all other finnes: though the sinner do alwaies propound vnto himselfe, (at the least in his conceit) a kind of profit in them; wherunto they seeme to answer, with appearing shewes of goodnes, yet he still findes in the end, when he hath made his trial of them, that they be indeede no better, but (as the Apostle truly calleth them) *Vnprofitable workes of darkenes*: and therefore such as (of right) wee ought to be even ashamed of.

Mat. 16. 26.

But here we must take heed, that we measure not our profit by wordly gaine and commoditie: For, that oftentimes is losse, as our Sauour Christ teacheth vs in the Gospel; though a man should gaine the whole world, yet if he lose his owne soule, that gaine is but Vanity, because there is no profit in it. For so it followeth in that very place: *What shall it profit thee to winne the whole world, if thou lose thine owne soule?* Therefore, we must measure our profit, not by gaine, but by godlines; for, that is the greatest gaine: and that (as Saint Paul teacheth vs) is profitable to all things, having promise both of this life, and of the life to come. That which a man gaineth with godlines, that is great gaine, and great profit, though it be but a little: but that which he gaineth without godlines, that is Vanity and disprofit, though it were the whole world: because he payeth his soule for it, which is more precious then the worlde, as it followeth in the forecited place. And therefore this our Preacher, who (in the beginning of this booke) telleth vs, that all is Vanity: yet (in the end of it) he excepteth godlines, that it is not Vanity: *For we haue heard the sum of all* (saith he) *swore God, and kept his commandments, for this is the compleat duty of man.* This godlinesse is not Vanity, because it is full of profit: it hath a great reward (as our

1. Tim. 6. 4. 8.

Ecclef. 12. 13

Sauour Christ teacheth vs in the Gospell) *Great is your reward in heauen.* The reward of godlinesse, though it be but small in earth, yet is it great in heauen; yea as great as heauen, for it is heauen it selfe: but the reward of earthly profit when we seeke it without godlinesse, is the losse of heauen: and therefore al such gaine is meere Vanity, Vanity in this first sense, that is, meetely vnprofitable and damageable Vanity.

Matt. 5:12.

The second signification of this word Vanity, is all one with *Vacuity* *Vacuum*, *conquam vacuum*: that is, a thing that hath a show, but yet taketh the true substance of that it representeth: and so indeede is nothing els but onely an empty semblance.

In which sense I finde this word applied three seuerall wayes: First *primum*, I finde opposed to *Plenum*: and so it signifieth a thing voyde and emptie. Secondly, I finde it opposed to *Grave*: and so it signifieth a thing light and windie. Thirdly, I find it opposed to *Verum*: and so it signifieth a thing false and crafty.

For the first of these three senses, to wit, *Vanum inane*, That is, empty Vanity: In this sense doth *Tully* vse that word in his oration *pro Plancio*, where he calleth those promises that be not kept, *Vana & inania*, vaine and empty promises: as (contrariwise) the keeping of promises both in our English and in the Latine tongue, is commonly called a fulfilling of them; *Implere promissa*. Promises if they be not fulfilled in their keeping, they be but vaine and empty in their making. In this sense doth *Virgil* likewise vse that word in the first of his *Georgike*, he calleth the empty eares of corne which haue nothing but a huske, *Vanis aristas*, vaine eares: *Expectata seges, vanis elusit aristas*. He calleth such eares vaine, because they be empty. And in this same sense doth likewise the Scriptures themselues vse that word. *Iob* calleth the dayes of this mortall life, *Menses vacui* moneths of Vanity, that is, voyd and empty moneths, empty

Cic. orat. pro
Cn. Plancio.

Virg. lib. 1.
Geor.

Iob 7. 3.

Gen. 47. 9.

Psal. 2. 1.

Plut. in vita
Bruti.

1. Sam. 16. 9.

Eccles. 9. 4.

Apoc. 5. 5.

Iohn 12. 32.

Psal. 2. 1.

Rom. 8. 37.

Iust. Mart. lib.
quest.

of all stayed and solid comfort, saw and euill, as *last* com-
playneth of his life. So likewise the Prophet *David* in the
second *Psalm*, he vseth the same word, in the very same
sense: *Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain
thing?* He speaketh in that place of the attempts of the hea-
then against Christ and his kingdome. Which place of the
Psalm, Saint *Hierome* translating; he putteth for *Vana*, *Ima-*
nia: *Inania meditari sunt*, They imagined vaine things, saith *David*,
that is, voyde and empty things, saith *Hierom*, things voyd
of reason and voyde of successe. For though they might
seem to haue gotten a ful conquest ouer our Sauour Christ,
when they once had killed him, because (as *Theodosius* *Chi-*
us once said of *Pompey*) *Mortui non mordent*, A dead dogge
biteth not: yet euen then did their fulnes proue to be meere
emptines, and euen then did Christ begin his conquest ouer
them. He, whom (whilest he liued) they counted little bet-
ter then a dead dogge, as it is in the proverbe, after he was
dead did proue a living Lion, a victorious Lion of the tribe
of *Iuda*, and conquered the whole world, according to that
prophecie which he had given of himselfe, that *If he were
lifted up, he then would draw all men vnto him*. So that all
their attempts against our Sauour Christ, did proue, tight
indeede as the Prophet *David* calleth them, but vaine and
emptie imaginations: as likewise doe the attempts of like
wicked persecutors against his members the Christians;
they commonly proue vaine and empty.

For when they seek to conquer them by crudty & perse-
cution, they themselves are thereby conquered; and the
Christians by their torments become more then conque-
rours, as the Apostle *Paul* teacheth vs: *Though for thy sake
we be killed all the day long, yet are we in all these things made more
then conquerours*. Thus (as *Iustine Martyr* hath very well
observed) *Tormenta paganisunt, quibus ipsa se defendit, paganis
morum collunt, Christianis morum firmant*. The torments of the
Pagans are the nourishments of the Christians: for this sect

The first Sermon, at Cambridge.

of Christianity (as *Tertulian* truly noteth) *Tunc magis edificatur, cum eedi videtur*: The more that it is killed, the more it is increased: the blood of the Christians, as the same writer noteth (in an other place) being the very seede of the Church: So that all the attempts of such wicked persons doe proue meereley Vaine; that is, voyde and empty, as well against the Church as against Christ himselfe. And therefore the Prophet *Isay* speaking of the Vanity of those vngodly men, which seeke to deuoure and swallow vp the Church; he compareth their attempts (and that very fitly) vnto a hungry mans dreame, who imagineth that he is filling himselfe at a banquet; but yet when he awaketh, his soule within him is empty and faint; and so are their hopes too, which desire to feast themselves of the spoyle of the Church, they doe vanish as a dreame, and their soules bee found empty; as (God be praised) we haue had great and gracious experience, and that very lately. And euen so is it likewise in all other earthly things; all the comfort which they yeelde vs, is but a false ioy, as it were in a dreame; but hee that is the fullest of them heere in this world, when hee awaketh and riseth vp vnto the resurrection, shall finde himselfe emptied of them all: *When the hungry shall be filled with good things, but the rich shall be sent empty away*, as it is in the Gospel: For as Christ when he came to vs in mercy, did empty himselfe quite of all his heavenly glory: so we, when we go vnto Christ in iudgement, shall likewise be emptied of all our earthly glory; we shall appeare before him naked, being stript of all those gay and goodly trappings, which now so much glorifie; and vaine foolish worldlings, as euen *Plato* himselfe noteth. And then (as I noted before out of the booke of Wisdome) wee shall truly see the Vanity of all these earthly glories, when wee see how bare, and how naked, and how empty they haue left vs. This briefly for Vanity, as it is *vanitas*; that is, voyde and empty of all those good things; whereof it seemeth to

Tertul. ad Scapulam.

Idem. Apolo. cap. 50.

Isay 29. 9.

Luke 1. 13.

Phil. 2. 7.

Plato, in Gorgia.

haue store and plenty.

The second branch of Vanity, in this second signification, is *Vanum*, opposed vnto *Grane*; or *Ponderosum*; and so Vanity signifieth a thing light and windy: so that *Vanitas* and *Leuitas* be in this sense *Synonyma*. In this sense doth *Salust* vse the name of Vanity, as *Nonnius* citeth him: *Mauri vanum genus*. He calleth the *Morian*: a vaine nation: that is, Light and vnconstant; *Ingenio mobile*; as he noteth them in an other place. So likewise doth *Tully* vse this word Vanity in his booke of *Dimination*, where he complaineth, that the notable Art of *Dimination* is brought into contempt, *Leuitate, & Vanitate hominum*. By the leuity and Vanity of men. For, as the excellent Art of Musicke is growne into contempt through the basenes and lightnes of certaine vagrant musitians, which prostitute their comming at euery drunken feast: so likewise that renowned Art of *Dimination*, grew into great contempt, through the vilenes of certaine roguing mountbanks, & cosoning fortunetellers, which out of mens forheads, and faces, and hands, would take vpon them to diuine, and to reade hidden destinies: and thereupon it was, that *Tully* so complained, that the dignity of so noble an Art, had suffered such a prejudice, through the leuity and Vanity, of certaine hir professors. Vsing Leuity & Vanity, *Promiscue*, for one thing. And in the same sense, doe likewise the Scriptures vse the name of Vanity, for lightnes, and that which hath no waight or worth in it. The Prophet *Moses* calleth Idoles Vanity: and the Prophet *Isay* calleth them Wind: both words noting out their lightnes vnto vs; they are as light as wind, which is the lightest of all things; yea as light as nothing, as it followeth in that place: for an Idoll is nothing, as is noted in an other place. The Prophet *David* likewise discoursing of the vaine condition of man, he vseth the same word, in the very same sense: for he saith, that *Man is deceitfull vpon the waights*; *Yea, and altogether lighter then Va-*

Salust. bel.
Iugurth.
Cic lib. 1.
de Diuinat.

Deut. 32. 11.
Isay, 41. 29.

1. Cor. 8. 4.

Psal. 62. 9.

nity it selfe. Lighter then Vanitie. Which must needs imply, that Vanitie is a very light and windy matter, when as it is put for a principall instance and example of lightnesse, as there you see it is.

The third branch of Vanitie in this second signification, is *Vanum*, opposed vnto *Verum*, and so Vanitie signifieth a thing false & crafty: so that *Vanitas*; and *Falsitas*, be (in this sense) *Synonymes*. In this sense doth *Plautus* vse the name of Vanitie, in his *Moscellaria*, *Vera cantas, Vana vellem*; You speake the Verity, I would it were Vanitie, opposing *Vanum*, vnto that which is *Verum*. In this sense doth *Terence* also vse the name of Vanitie, in his *Eunuchus*, *Se falsum, aut Vanum, aut fictum, continuo palam est*: he calleth that a Vaine thing, which is a false and a fained thing: expressing *Vanum*, by his *Synonymes*, as *Plautus* did by his *Opposites*.

And in this sense I find the name of Vanitie applied most commonly vnto three severall things: First (in spirituall matters) I find Idolatry to be called by the name of Vanitie, because it is but a false religion; it is *Falsum*, and therefore *Vanum*, as you heard before out of *Terence*. It hath a show of godlines (as the Apostle *Paul* speaketh) but yet it lacketh the power of it. In this sense doth *Moses* vse the name of Vanitie, in the booke of *Deuteronomie*; where complaining of the *Idols* in the person of God, he saith, that, *They moved him in iustensu with that which is not God, they provoked him to anger, with their Vanities*. As Idols are false gods, so idolatry is false worship: and both these called Vanitie, because they be false. Hence likewise the Prophet *David* calleth such heathen worship Superstitious Vanitie: Superstitious, because idolatrous, and Vanitie, because false. Secondly (in common life) I find Lying to be called by the Vanitie, because it is a false speech: it is *Falsum*, and therefore *Vanum*, as before I noted. In this sense doth *Tully* vse the name of Vanitie, in the first of his *Offices*, where speaking of the falsehood of tradesmen in

their

Most. act. 4.
Sec. 2.

Eunch. Act. 1.
Scen. 2.

2. Tim. 3. 5.

Deut. 32. 21.
Ier. 8. 19.

Psal. 31. 6.

Cic. lib. 1.
Offices.

imprint the remembrance of their sinne more firmly in our mindes, neuer doubting, that the remembrance of their idolatry would stirre vp our desire vnto like impiety. Neither yet (as I thinke) hath any man bene found, who either by view of that picture, or remembrance of their practice, hath bene led to imitate them in that vice. So that, remembrance doth not alwaies breed a liking of the thing so remembred, but, oftentimes, a lothing.

Cic. Epist. 15.
Bruto.

There be *monumenta odij*, as well as *Amoris*. To goe no further for instance, but to the signe of the crosse: doe wee not see by experience, that our remembring how the Papists haue abused it, hath stirred vp in many men detestation of it? whereby, the hatred of their abuse hath so blinded their reason, as to breede an abhorring euen of the lawfull vse of it. Which euidently sheweth, the notable incohærence of your *Maior* proposition. and that wee may well remember idolatry, without any danger of falling into it.

Now, for your assumption: *That the signe of the crosse is apt to breed a remembrance of the horrible idolatry, which was committed by it, in the Synagogue of Rome*. If that wee freely granted, yet were not the cause preiudiced: your *Maior* being so weakely founded.

For, what if it gaue vs occasion to remember that ancient idolatry, which by remembring, wee abhorre: doth this make it vnlawfull? or doth it not rather make it good, and profitable? But I see no cause at all why wee should yeeld you so much. For, I pray you, why should our crosse be thought to bee more apt, to breed a remembrance of Popish idolatry, then our Communion-bread is, to breed a remembrance of Popish *Artolatry*? Or, why should it be thought more powerfull to leade vs vnto the one, then this is, to lead vs vnto the other? Especially, the bread being a materiall & a sensible body, and remayning (for some good space) an object to the eye, whereby it may more easily suggest vnto the

minde how it hath in the *Romish* Church bene abused: whereas the crosse, being an immateriall and a vanishing signe, in one and the same moment being both bred, and dead, is neither so fit to instruct, nor so strong to incite vs as the bread is. And yet I do not know, nor euer haue heard, that any man (not being before a Papist) hath by the sight of our bread, bene induced to desire to returne vnto Popery. So little colour of probability is there, that euery one which seeth a crosse made in our baptisme, should by and by remember that former idolatry, which (happily) he neuer saw; yea & not onely remember it but also desire to returne vnto it; there is no likelyhood in this fancy. *But it is indeed a feare, whereas no feare is, as the Psalmist speaketh. Yea it is superstitiosa timiditas, as Saint Augustin truly censureth it: it is indeed to feare superstition, with a superstitious feare.* Now if our crosse be no more apt to renew the remembrance of idolatry, then our bread is, I would know by what rule, the one being receiued, the other should be reiected.

OB. Perhaps you will say, that Bread in the supper is *Christs* owne ordinance, but the crosse is not so.

Resp. The brazen serpent was Gods owne ordinance, & yet it being abused to idolatry, was iustly abolished. So that if your vrging of this instance be fit; which else where you stand so much vpon, the bread can haue no protection by being *Christs* ordinance, because it hath also bene abused to idolatry.

OB. That bread which we vse, was neuer so abused,

Resp. No more was that crosse which we vse, euer so abused. But yet if your reason be good, that what-soeuer reneweth the remembrance of the old idolatry, is dangerous to occasion a relapse vnto it, and therefore to be removed from the seruice of God; it holdeth against bread, as well as against the crosse. For that is as dangerous to renew the remembrance of former idolatry, as the crosse is. But indeed this is but a needlesse feare, that there should bee

Psal. 14. 5.
Aug. Epist.
118. ad Ianu-
ar. cap. 20

Page 40.

any such danger in it. For first, why should the seeing of a crosse made, rather moue vs to idolatry, then the hearing of an idoll named? may not the reading of the Lords praier, or of the angelicall salutation, put men in mind as well of their *Pater noster*, and their *Aue Maria*, and of that old superstition which they vsed in both these, as the crosse can of that which they vsed in it? yet, I thinke, you will not thinke it vnlawfull (for this supposed danger) either to read the one, or to say the other: neither doe I thinke it so, to vse the third. For, secondly I demand, who those persons bee, vnto whom this pretended danger can bee intended? are they Protestants? or, bee they Papists? The greatest part of Protestants are such, as (for their age) could neuer see or know how the crosse was abused amongst the Papists, yea and of those there is a great part, so farre from danger of Poperie, by the vse of this cetermonie, that they are in great danger of an other extremity, condemning the lawfull vse, for the vnlawfull abuse, so that none of them is so slenderly grounded, as by such a weake meanes to bee remooued. The other sort of Protestants, which are more ancient, and so by their age might happily remember it, yet having beene weaned this forty sixe yeares from it, and so long trained vp in an other vse of it, there is no shewe of likeness, that such men should (now on the sudaine) bee so offended at it, as to quit and abandon their religion for it.

Now for the Papists, they be such as seldome do come vnto praiers, neuer to our Sacraments, by their owne good will: so that, there is small danger of doing them any harme. But if any of them should happen to bee present at our baptism, they may plainly see our crosse, both by the simple vse of the signe, and by the wordes added for exposition of the signe, to bee so vindicated and cleared from their superstition; as there is farre greater danger to harden them in their opinion by our so distant a difference from them,

then by our so neere coniunction with them. Finally, the folly and vanity of this needelesse feare appeareth in this point, that in all the space of this fixe and forty yeares, wherein the crosse hath beene vsed amongst vs, there can not bee giuen so much as one instance, of either any Papist to haue beene confirmed in his Popery, or of any Protestant to haue beene conuerted vnto Popery, by seeing the signe of the crosse, as wee vse it. Some examples may bee giuen of the contemners of the crosse, whome God hath permitted to fall from that error in horrible heresies, as into *Donatisme* and *Brownisme*, but none at all of the obseruers of the crosse, that thereby haue beene brought to fall into *Papisme*. And indeed the feare is altogether as absurd; that the seeing of a crosse made should moue vs vnto Popery; as that the seeing of a wafer-cake should moue vs to idolatry.

The fourth obiection.

Seeing wee are forbidden, not onely idolatry, but also idols. 1. Iohn 5. 21. And the signe of the crosse to this day is an idol. For first, they thinke it a speciall defence against the deuill, and enills: per crucis hoc signum fugiat. &c. Secondly, they blesse themselves, who signe themselves with it. Thirdly, they call men in their congregation to adore it: saying, Ecce signum crucis, venite adoremus, therefore I doubt, how it, (being but an humane inuention) may be vsed in the place of Gods worship, and in his holy seruice.

Answers.

This fourth obiection consisteth of two arguments, whereby you would disable the vse of the crosse. The former beeing grounded vpon this position, that no idoll may be vsed in the

service of God. The second vpon this; that no inuention of man, hauing once beene abused vnto idolatrie, may ener after bee vsed in the actions of piety. The first of these two arguments may be cast into this syllogisme. No idol may bee vsed in the seruice of God. But the crosse is such, therefore it may not bee vsed in the seruice of God. Let vs seuerally examine the partes of this argument.

First therefore as concerning your proposition, I answer, That no idoll, continuing in the nature of an idoll, may lawfully be vsed in the seruice of God: but if that condition and nature be altered (as it is in our crosse) then may it lawfully enough bee vsed, yea though it were the same *individuum* which before was abused. Example whereof wee haue in the metall of Hierico, which were wholly reserued for the vse of the tabernacle, notwithstanding their abuse in that idolatrous city: wherein it is more then probable, that no little part of them was molten into idols. An other like example we haue in *Gedions* Oxe: where the very same indiuiduall Oxe which first was consecrated vnto Baal, was afterwards sacrificed vnto God. Saint *Augustine* in his Epistle vnto *Publicola*, expresseth his resolute iudgement in this point, not *Obiter*, but *ex insinuo*, taking vpon him there to decide this very question, & therefore his iudgement ought to haue the greater estimation. There he exprelly affirmeth, that it is a thing as lawfull, to conuert an abused idoll vnto the seruice of God as it is to conuert a seduced man, so that order be taken that it be not worshipped: yea and euen *T. C.* himselfe (for all his detestation of idols) yet is not so blindly carried with hatred against them, but that he can see well enough the gold and siluer to be Gods creatures in them: of which his conscience can giue him good leaue to make a priuate vse, notwithstanding the tragicall exclamations of the admonition, and the direct indgement of Saint *Augustine*, vnto the contrary, yea and of *Caluin* too. Nay, he goeth yet further and alloweth the cappe and surplice,

Iosh. 6. 19.

Jud. 6. 26.

Aug. Epist.
154.Whitgift pag.
273.Whitgift pag.
261.
282.
283.

(which

(which the admonition condemneth for idols garments) and he himselfe, calleth a wouen image, not onely a priuate, but a publicke and common vse, which, how it wil stand with his other doctrines, it concerneth this disciples to consider.

So that, as concerning your proposition, That *no idoll may be used in the seruice of God*, you see in what sort it must bee qualified, or els that you haue both *Scriptures*, and *Fathers*, and *Reformers* against you.

Ob. But you proue your proposition, by that place of *Saint Iohn*. *Babes keepe your selues from idols, which (as you say) forbiddeth not onely idolatry, but also idols too.*

Resp. I answere, that this place of *Saint Iohn*, *to keepe our selues from idols*, is a *Metonymie* of that subiect, and implyeth no more, but to keepe vs from idolatry, with out which, an idoll (in it selfe) is nothing, as the Apostle *Paul* teacheth vs. To this exposition I am induced by these reasons.

First, because I take it to bee the peculiar opinion of the *Mahometanes* to condemne all vses of images simply, as you seeme to do by pressing this place. In which opinion I thinke none other sort of men concurreth with them, neither *Christians*, *Jewes*, nor *Pagans*. Secondly, because I finde *Didimus Alexandrinus* amongst the Ancients, and *Marlorate*, and *Aretius* amongst the Moderns, to expound this place directly of idolatry, and not of idols. Thirdly, because *Tertullian*, who in his booke *de corona* seemeth to condemne not onely the action of idolatry, but also the very idols themselues, yet in the very same place confesseth that those very idols be *Substantia munda ut dei res: et hac sua conditione communes vsus*. And in his second booke against *Marcion*, (expounding the second commandement) hee saith, that the true cause why God forbiddeth images, is onely this, that so hee might *Cohibere substantiam idololatriæ*. Which two places of *Tertullian* I pray you to marke: the first, showing that idols, may haue a lawfull vse, and therefore be not simply forbidden: the second, that they onely be for-

Caluin, in *Isai.*
cap. 3.
Wl. itg. pag.
290.

Bib. pat. Tom.
6. pag. 671.

Tertul. lib. de
coron. cap. 10.

Lib. 2 cont.
Marcion, cap
22.

Caluin in cap:
5. Epist: 1.
Iohn.
Collocquum
Montp. 400.
and 415.

Leuit. 26. 1.

Exod. 23. 13.

1. Kings. 11.

5.

Iob. 38. 3. 1. 3.

Acts. 28. 11.

bidden in respect of idolatry. Fourthly, because both *Caluin* & *Beza* which extend this place to the abolishing of idols, yet do it onely in this respect, because they may bee occasions vnto idolatry. Fifthly, because both the aforesaid authors do allow some vse of images: which sheweth that they thinke them not (by this place of *S. Iohn*) to be simply condemned. Sixtly, because I find euen the scriptures themselves to forbid images, onely in respect of adoration and worship, *ye shall make you none idols or grauen image, to bow downe to them, for I am the Lord thy God.* So that this place of *S. Iohn* in forbidding idols, forbiddeth not simply all kinde of vse of them, but onely that religious vse, when wee adore and worship them. For this place of *S. Iohn*, is paralleled by another in the booke of *Exodus*: where wee are forbidden, so much as to name or to mention other Gods. Which place must needs be restrained with this exposition, that it forbiddeth vs but onely, *Honoris causa nominare*: or else the very scriptures should be contrary to themselves. For they not onely name, but also preserve and keep in record the names of diuers heathen gods. *Astarte* and *Milcom* are named in the booke of kings: *Arcturus* and *Orion* in the booke of *Iob*: *Castor* and *Pollux* in the *Acts of the Apostles*, and *Act. 14. 12.* *Iupiter* and *Mercury*. Therefore as here is no more ment, but that in naming wee should not honour them, so in that place of *Iohn* there is no more ment, but that in keeping our selves from them, wee should not worship them. VVhich it is knowne wee do not vnto the crosse. So that if it were graunted that the crosse were an idoll, yet (as long as wee do not worship it) it is not by that place of *Saint Iohn* condemned.

But to come now to the *Assumption* of your argument: you say in it that our crosse is an *Idoll*: and you proue it by three instances. *First that the Papists doe thinke it a defense against the diuill: Second that they thinke it to sanctifie the vsers of it: and, Third that they doe adore and worshipsse it.*

Of which three proofes, because the last doth indeed proue it to be (in some sense) an idoll; I will take none exception against the two first though they be insufficient, but will grant that (to the Papists) it is no better then an idol. But yet, I pray you note, how ill these points hang together. The Papists adore and worship their crosse, *ergo*, our crosse is an idol. How incoherent is this? Can their worship of their crosse make our crosse an idol, which is not worshipped? How then could our consciences be assured of the lawfull use of any thing which we use, when as wee are not sure, whether the same thing, in some other place, be not made an idoll? Suppose that at our communion there should come in some temporizing Papist, who seeing the communion bread vpon the table, would inwardly adore it, after the idolatrous manner of the Romish church, doth his making of that bread an idol, pollute the use of it vnto the Godly receiuers? if yea, then can we neuer bee assured, whither that which we receiue be Christs body, or an idol: because, there may be alwaies some such disguised Papists amongst vs, if no: why shold their adoration of an other crosse corrupt ours, which is not the same, whe as his adoration of the bread, which is none other but the same that wee receiue, corrupts it not? that crosse which they adore, is not the same which wee make in our baptisme: and that crosse which we make, is not the same, that they adore: & therefore I do not see, by what rule, either of true religion, or, of common reason, the one should be condemned for the other.

Ob. But yet seeing they make though not the same individual crosse (which wee use) yet the same species of crossing an idoll, we ought to forbear the use of a thing so much abused, especially it being none ordinance of God, but onely a mere inuention of man.

Resp. The same particular crosse which wee make, the Papists neither doe, nor can abuse: and much lesse can they the whole Species of crossing, whereof a part remaineth with vs, as well as with them: if wee should grant, that our crosse

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were

Page, 63.

were of the same *Species* with theirs, which I thinke it is not. But if that were granted; then all which the Papists can possibly abuse, is onely so much of the *Species* of crossing, as they haue in their owne possession. Now, for the abuse which is offered vnto some *Indiuidua* of any *Species*, why the other *indiuidua* of the same *species* (though not so abused) should bee condemned, there is neither right nor reason: no more then if wee should condemne the whole action of kneeling, because idolaters do vse to kneele vnto their idols.

Deu: 7.5.

Iosh. 22.16.

Colloquium
Montpelg: P.
410.424. &c.

Page: 62.63.

Instit: lib: 7.
cap: 11, Sec.
12.

I confesse that the Scripture commandeth to destroy; not onely the idols them-selues, but also even their altars too. But this must bee onely vnderstood of the same *Indiuidua* which haue bene abused, not that the whole *Species* for their sake is condemned. The *Isralites* did not thinke them-selues bound by this commandement, to ouerthrow the *Rubenites* altar, though it were erected without any warrant; & in show had some repugnancie with gods owne commandement. Nay, *Beza* yealdeth not thus much: for hee thinketh it not necessary that the same altar which hath bene abused vnto popish idolatry, should of necessity be altered, but that it may serue (as well as a table) for the vse of the sacrament. So that he is so far from thinking that the abuse of one *Indiuiduum* corrupteth the whole *Species*, that he thinketh not the same *Indiuiduum* it selfe to remaine corrupted, when the abuse thereof is remoued, as it is in our crosse; which yet is not the same with the *Papists* crosse, neither numero, nor *Specie*, as wee shall see hereafter.

With *Beza* concurrerth *Caluin*, in the *thesis*, that the abuse of one particular corrupteth not the whole *Species*. For then, the idolatrous abuse of some images, should make all images vnlawfull. But *Caluin* himselfe alloweth *Historicall* images, as helps vnto memory, and saith that they haue a profitable vse, not onely *In monendo*, but also *In docendo*. *Beza* goeth yet further: allowing not onely *Historicall*

images

images, but also euen *Symbolical* too. For he alloweth the painting not onely of holy histories, but also of holy visions too, *Verbi causa*. That of *Isai. cap. 6. 1. 2. &c.* and that of *Daniell. cap. 7. 9. 10. 13. 14.* wherein God himselfe must needs bee represented. And he thinketh that by the helpe of such images, the text it selfe may bee illustrated and better vnderstood. The translators of our *Geneua* bible goe yet further, for they in the 33. cap: of *Numbers* in one page set downe, the image not onely of the brazen serpent, (now after it hath bene abused) but also of the *Israelites* golden calfe which was neuer well vsed. Which they would neuer haue done, if they had bene perswaded that the abuse which was offered to one of these images, had so infected and tainted the whole *Species*, that none other of them, could for euer after haue any lawfull vse. Yea and all those images they place euen in the Bible, whereby they must needs intend to haue some vse of them in the seruice of God. Let these examples be well considered and then giue vs a reason, how they may lawfully set downe an image of that same idoll which hath bene abused, and not wee as lawfully vse that signe of the crosse which hath neuer bene abused.

Ob. Now for your second reason in this fourth objection, to witte, that the signe of the crosse is but an imitation of man, and that therefore (as hauing bene abused into idolatry) may not be vsed in the seruice of God, that is a reason compulsiue of many errors.

For first (as concerning your *Antecedent*) I thinke that wee may vpon better ground affirme, that the vse of the crosse is as an *Apostolicall* tradition, then you, that is but merely an *humaine* inuention. For first, diuers of the fathers expressly affirme so of it: as namely *Tertullian. Lib. de coron.* cap. 24. whereas hee saith of the crosse, that though it haue not *Legem scripturæ*, yet it hath both *Traditionem apostolicam*, and *consuetudinem confirmationis*. So likewise *Basili*

Collegium
Mont. par.
s. p. 1. 2. 3. 4.
ditione Ben.
Ex editione
Iacobi An-
drea. P. 411.

St. d. l. 1. 2. 3. 4.
St. d. l. 1. 2. 3. 4.

St. d. l. 1. 2. 3. 4.
St. d. l. 1. 2. 3. 4.

Lib. 1.

Tom. 7. p. 20.

Pag. 324.

August. Epist.
118. ad Ianu.Tertul. lib. de
coron. cap. 4.

Ibid.

lib. de spiritu sancto. cap. 27. He ascribeth as great authority to the Apostolicall traditions, as he doth vnto the Apostolicall writings, and reckoneth for the chiefest of them; the signe of the crosse. So likewise *Damasceus lib. 4. de orthodoxa fide. cap. 17.*

Secondly, the practise of the whole Catholike church (which hath euer from the time of the very Apostles had this ceremonie in vse) doth giue great strength vnto the iudgement of the fore-named Fathers, Saint *Augustine* saith, that *whatsoeuer is generally obserued of all churches* (as the vse of the crosse hath beene) *that assuredly is either an Apostolicall tradition, or at the least, the Canon of some generall counsell.* And *Tertullian*, from the generall obseruation proueth, that it is an Apostolicall tradition, *Idonea testis probat a traditionis, est per seuerantia obseruationis*: for otherwise it is not likely, that all churches would so generally haue consented in this, more then in any other ceremonie, as it appeareth they did by Saint *Basil* testimony, who calleth this signing with the crosse, both *primam* and *vulgatissimam traditionem*. Thirdly, that great reuerence, and high estimation, which all the Fathers, from the first to the last, haue had of this ceremonie (though all of them doe not expresse call it an Apostolicall tradition) must needs argue, that they thought it to haue a better institution, then to be merely and simply an humane inuention. Finally, if it be but an humane inuention, let vs know (I pray you) the first inuenter of it, and when it was first decreed, and how it came so soone to bee so generally obserued. Which if you cannot shew vs, I thinke that you may with greater probabilitie, esteeme it to be an Apostolicall tradition (the fore-alleged reasons giuing strength to our conclusion) then you can (without the like) call it a mans inuention. Now for your consequent, (if your antecedent were granted) yet might that with great reason be denied. For first, since the signing with the crosse was in deed no

better then a meere humane inuention: doth therefore the abuse of it in one place, take away all vse of it, in any other? or the abuse of it at one time, destroy the good vse of it for euer after? by what reason say you this? you your selues allow that the creatures of God, though they haue beene abused, yea and worshipped for idols in the highest degree, (as all Sheepe and Oxen were by the *Aegyptians*) yet that in the same singular identity, they may afterward be vsed in the seruice of God, as *Gedions* Oxe was, which being consecrated as a sacrifice for *Baal*, yet afterward was offered vnto God: and why may not in like sort, the decent and orderly ceremonies of the Church, though abused in one place, yet in an other be restored vnto their right vse? especially the abuse which is offered in ceremonies, being but only *secunda idolatria*, as *Tertullian* noteth, but a second and inferiour degree of idolatry: whereas that which is offered in the creatures, is often times the principall, they beeing honored for very Gods. Whert finde you Gods creatures (in this case of idolatry) to haue any greater priuiledge then the Churches ceremonies: If they, after they haue beene made idols in the highest degree, may yet haue their vse in the seruice of God, why may not the crosse too, which can be made idols but in an inferiour degree? If the idolatry with creatures, do not destroy the vse of the same individuals, why should the idolatry of ceremonies (which is a lesse abuse) destroy the vse of all the whole species? the translators of our *Geneua* Bible, in setting out the picture of the golden Calf, insinuate these words: *First*, that the abuse offered to one idol of that kind (though it were idolatry in the highest degree), yet hath not so corrupted the whole species of it, but that other may both lawfully and profitably be vsed. Secondly, that though that idols were but a miute inuention, & had bin so notably abused vnto idolatry, yea altho it is not debarred, from helping vs euen in the seruice of God, for that must needs be the end of their figuring it in that booke.

Looke p. 54.

Cicilib. 3. de
nat. deor.

Iud. 6. 25. 26.

Tertul. lib. de
coron. cap. 10

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Pag. 10.

Fox. p. 1843.

Sozomen.
hult. lib. 7.
cap. 15.

pag. 63.

Whig. pag.
599.

John. 13. 23.

Beza (as you heard before) goeth further: for hee alloweth the very same alter, which hath beene the instrument of an idolatrous sacrifice, to be vsed as an instrument of our christian Sacrament. In which iudgement, diuers martyrs in *Queene Marias* time concurred, who were content to vse the same Surplices and Chalices, which had beene abused in adolatrous masses. The like did the christians in the primitive church: they conuerted the same temples into the houses of God, which had beene consecrated to the seruice of abhominable idols; yet are both idolatrous Temples and Alters mans owne meere inuentions, and not Gods eyther creatures or ordinances. So that, though our crosse were the same which was abused; and but a mans inuention, yet might it by these examples be defended.

But secondly, I answer vnto your consequent; That if it were granted, that the signe of the crosse were but a mans inuention; yet can it not bee granted with any truth; that the protestants crosse is the same, which the Papists haue abused; ours differing from theirs, both in the *Agents* and in the ends of the action: two very great and materiall differences. Thirdly I demand, how those men which condemne all humane inuentions which haue idolatrously beene abused, do agree with them-selues, when they condemne kneeling, and commend sitting at the holy communion? making this to bee a significant signe of our eternall rest, which is both meere ly an humane inuention, and hath notably beene abused vnto idolatry.

Ob. Perhaps you will say, that sitting is agreeable to Christs own institution, and that he himselfe sat at his last Supper.

Resp. But that is not so: hee vsed an other sit of his body, as distant from sitting, as kneeling is. He leaued, and so did the rest of his Disciples, according to the custome and fashion of those times. *Looke Glauie Scriptura in voce finis. Struckus de ricibus animalibus lib. 2. cap. 34.*

Ob. But happily you thinke, that sitting hath not bene so

wickedly

wickedly abused vnto idolatry, as kneeling hath.

Resp. Nay much more, and to more horrible idolatry too. For in the kingdomes of *Calecute* and *Narsinga*, and in diuerse other prouinces of the East and West *India*, where they worship the diuill in a most deformed image, they represent him alwayes sitting: and they worship him, not kneeling, but prostrate. So that they which reiect kneeling and retaine sitting, whilest they auoide the iesture of Christian idolaters, they imitate the iesture of Heathen idols. Therefore, where sitting is allowed, I know not, why either kneeling, or crosing, should be abolished.

Then, to recapitulate the summe of this long answer, If neither wee our selues, nor the papists our aduersaries doe thinke our crosse auailable to the driuing away of diuils, nor to the sanctifying of our selues, nor yet do adore it with diuine or holy worship; then is not our crosse made an idoll, either by our owne practise, or by their opinion: and therefore not to be debarred from the seruice of God, by force of your first argument.

Again, if our crosse be either no humane inuention, but rather an Apostolicall tradition: or, being an humane inuention, yet hath neuer beene abused vnto idolatry, then is it not excluded from the seruice of God, by vertue of your second argument.

But the first of these is true, as I haue shewed in the body of this answer: *Ergo*, the second also.

The fifth obiection.

For as much as our profession of Christ, is a part of the covenant, Rom. 10.8.9. I haue doubted, how man may appoint the signe of the crosse, as a token of our profession. This being Gods diuine prerogative, as to ordaine the covenant, so to ordaine most signes for it. Gen. 17.11.

Answer.

This fifth obiection is very intricate, but I gesse, that it may be explicated thus.

No man may adde signes to the conenant of God, Gen. 17. 7. 11. But our profession of Christ is the conenant of God, Rom. 10. 8. 9. Ergo no man may adde signes to our profession of Christ. And by consequent, the signe of the crosse may not bee added, to our profession in baptisme.

In which argument, the *Maior* must be answered by distinction. That the outward signes of our profession, as conenant with God, bee of two diuers natures; for either they bee sacramentall, or ceremoniall signes. For sacramentall signes, wee plainly confesse, that they must needs bee of Gods owne institution, and haue his owne promise annexed vnto them; and therefore no man hath any power to ordaine them, but this (as you truly say) is Gods sole prerogative. But, for rituall and ceremoniall signes, made either for the ordering of the Church within it selfe, or for the distinguishing of it from other assemblies, the case is farre otherwise; such thinges may bee made by the Churches constitution, without any inroching vpon Gods prerogative; by the iudgement of the most Diuines, both old and new. I referre you for breuities sake vnto the ninety five page of Bishoppe *Whitgifts* booke continuing vnto page 128. In which long and learned discourse hee citeth many testimonies of the ancient fathers, declaring many rites and ceremonies to haue beene ordained in the primitive Church by hir owne authority, without any expresse warrant of the word for them, sauing onely that generall warrantize of Saint *Pauls*. *Omnia decet, et ordinantur sicut.* In which rule be naming not the seuerall particulars, but leauing them to the Churches discretion he giueth it power to ordaine lawes and ceremonies, so that these con-

1. Cor: 14. 40.

ditions

ditions be not transgressed. He bringeth also the iudgement of diuers new writers which confirme the same. *Caluin* (who with them is *Instar omnium*) saith that a sette forme of rites and ceremonies bee the *nerves and sinewes of the Church*, without which it needs must be dissolved. And those constitutions which are made by the Church, hee bindeth all the members thereof to obserue: condemning not onely such as contemne and reiect them, but also such, as pretermitt and neglect them: adding this for a reason of our vniforme obedience in such outward matters, *Quantum rituum semen futura est earum rerum confusio, si pro ut cuique libitum sit, mutare liceat qua ad communem statum pertinent. Quando nunquam futura sit ut idem omnibus placeat, si res, velis in medio posita, singulorum arbitrio relictæ fuerint.* So that hee affirmeth, that whereas there is not vniformity in ceremonies, there can neuer bee vnity in affections, but must needs bee iarres and great contentions. Yea euen T.C. him-selfe expressly affirmeth, that the Church hath power to make orders in these things which are not specified and precisely determined in the word. And hee addeth, *that if they bee profitable for the Church, and bee not repugnant to the word, they are to bee receiued as being grounded vpon the word, and as thinges, which God himselfe, by his Church, hath commanded.* Marke I pray you what power, euen this aduersary of ceremonies ascribeth to the Church: enough to authorize both the crosse, and surplice, and all the other ceremonies which hee, him-selfe, impugneth, none of which are repugnant vnto the word of God, but all of them profitable for the Church, as the Church it selfe in ordaining them determineth; and therefore, by his owne rule, bee grounded vpon the word: and so ought to bee receiued as Gods owne commandements, ordained by the Church. Further the practise of all Christian Churches in the worlde doth manifestly shewe, that the Church hath power to ordaine Rites and

Whitgift. pag.
111.
lib. 4. Instit:
cap. 10. Sec:
27.
Sec: 31.

Whitgift. pag.
106.
124:

ceremonies, though not expresse prescribed in the word, for, there is no Church in Christendome without such, as namely, orders for sitting, kneeling, standing: place, for reader, preacher, and administer for the sacraments, time for prayers, sermons, sacraments, and such like.

Ob. But though the Church haue power to ordaine orders, for conueniency and comelinesse, yet hath it no power to ordaine any signes with their significations: neither can there any such example be produced.

Pag. 8. 9.

Resp. If the Church haue power to ordaine vnsignificant ceremonies, then much more such as are significant, for, vn-significant ceremonies can not edifie, as I haue formerly shewed, but significant may, if their signification be expresse, as it is in our crosse, where these words be added, *I signe him with the signe of the crosse, in token that hereafter he shall not bee ashamed to confesse the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight vnder his banner &c.* what can bee more plaine, or more profitable, not onely to expresse the duty of the child, (then presently receiued into the Church by baptism) but also, to admonish euery one in the Church what profession they themselues did make, at their baptism? Now, that the Church hath power to ordaine such ceremonies, hauing so good and profitable significations (to let *7* *orsullians* iudgment passe, who sayth, that *licet vnique fidei concipere et constituere, quod deo congruat, quod disciplina conducatur, & quod saluti proficiat*) euen *T. C.* his former rule doth sufficiently proue, for hee sayth, that *those things which are not against the word, and profitable for the Church, ought to bee receiued as things which GOD by his Church doth commands, and as grounded vpon the word of God.* But, it is more profitable for the church to haue significant then vnsignificant ceremonies, and these be no more against the word, then they are, and therefore by *T. C.* his rule, such ceremonies ought to be receiued, as Gods owne commandements, sent vnto vs by his Church.

Terul. lib de
coron, cap. 4.

Now for examples, that the Church hath ordained many such, it is great ignorance in *Storie* if a man do doubt it. To begin with *Saint Paule* likewise he ordained that women should come veiled or couered to the Church, by that ceremonie to signifie their subiection to their husbands. Which example *Peter Martyr* doth pcremptorily alledge as a prooffe, that our ceremonies ought to haue their significations. Let vs descend lower vnto the primatiue Church. In it these significant ceremonies were generally obserued, First, in baptisme they were dipped three times into the water. Secondly, they were anoynted with oyle. Thirdly, they were signed with the signe of the crosse. And fourthly, they were clothed with white garments. All these ceremonies are recorded by *Dionysius Areopagita* in his booke of *Ecclesiasticall hierarchie*. The significations of all which ceremonies he afterwards expoundeth, in the *Contemplation* annexed vnto that chapter. Yea and diuers other fathers, both of diuers Churches, and of differing ages, in their writings declare, that not onely these ceremonies were vntill their times continued, but also their significations receiued. First for that threefold dipping into the water, *S. Hieron* saith that it was done to signifie, that the sacrament was ministred in the name of the whole trinity. Secondly, for that anoynting with oyle, *Saint Augustine* saith, that it was done to signifie, the inward anoynting of the holy Ghost. 3. for that signing the forehead with the signe of the crosse *S. Augustine* againe saith, that it was done, *that we should not be ashamed of the crosse of Christ*. Fourthly, for that change of their apparrell and putting on white raiments, *S. Ambrose* saith, that this was done, to signifie, that we had now put off *[the old man]* & the couerings of sin & put on the garments of chastity and innocency. Vnto these I might adde many other *Christian* ceremonies, recorded by *Basil* in his booke *de spiritu sancto*: as namely, that they praied towards the east to signifie that they sought that paradise by praying, which

I. Cor. 11.

5.7.

The Rubenites altar was not for sacrifice, but, to signifie, that they belonged to the Church. Which significant ceremonie, was allowed by all Israel. Ios. 22. 26. 27. 30.
Pet: Mart: Epist. ad Hooperum.

Dyonis: lib: de ecclesi: hierarch: cap. 3.

Hier: lib: 3. in Ephes:

Aug: Tract: 3 in 1. Epist: Iohn.

Aug: Serm. 8. de verb. Apost.

Ambr: lib. de hys qui inuuantur misterijs cap: 7.

Basil: lib: de spir: san. c. cap. 27.

they lost by sinning. That they prayed standing, vpon the Sunday, to signifie, that as that day was the day of Christs resurrection, so they were risen againe with Christ, and now sought those things which are aboue: with diuers other like; reckoned vp in that place, which he affirmeth to be apostolicall traditions.

All which examples doe evidently declare the iudgement of the primitive Church; that both it had power to ordaine ceremonies, and also to giue them their significations: and consequently, the want of iudgement in those men, which affirme, that neither the Church hath any such power, nor histories affoord any such example. Herevnto I may adde the opinion of the very *Reformers* themselves, who preferre sitting before kneeling at the communion, because *sitting betokeneth rest, and an end of all legall ceremonies in Iesus Christ*: which reason they would neuer haue alleadged, if they had thought that the Church had had no power to ordaine significant ceremonies and rites. Therefore the Church doth not tyrannize ouer mens consciences, in ordaining significant rites and ceremonies; but these men would tyrannize ouer the Church, who would spoile her of that her lawfull authoritie; especially they not being able to produce any Scripture, whereby shee is abridged of that power.

Ob. But though the Church should haue power to ordaine rites and ceremonies for priuate order in it selfe; yet hath it no power to appoint any out-ward signe, to bee a note of our generall profession, but that is G O D S owne peculiar prerogative.
Gen 17 7. 11.

Resp. That the Church hath authority in greater matters, then either in adding significations to ceremonies, or outward notes to our profession, very many instances doe notably declare. First, that whereas Christ instituted his supper at the time of supper, it hath changed that time from the evening to the morning, which is an altering (in circumstance)

Whitgift,
pag. 599.

of Christs owne institution. Secondly, whereas the Apostles decreed in a generall councell, that Christians should abstaine from bloud and from stranglers, that hath it likewise altered, and so cancelled an Apostolicall constitution. The like authority they shewed in altering the ancient day of the Sabbath, and administering Baptisme vnto children: in this, they wanting the commandement of Christ; in that, they changing the commandement of God, From which instances we may argue, as from the greater to the lesse, That if they erred not in those fore-named ordinances, much lesse haue they erred in adding significations vnto their ceremonies: & by the same reason, why hath not the church as great a power to adde outward signes vnto our profession, as to ordaine other ceremonies, concerning our Ecclesiasticall administration? Is the signe the lesse lawfull, because it is a signe of our profession? Why then is none at all lawfull: for not onely this signe of the crosse, but also all other Ecclesiasticall ceremonies (as *Aquinas* teacheth vs) are signes of our profession. Hee saith, that *Omnes ceremonie be professiones quadam fidei*. *Tertullian*, being newly conuerted vnto Christianity, forsooke his old habit, which was a gowne, and betooke him to a new, which was a Cloake, that so with the change of his garment hee might notifie to the world, the change of his profession: which certainly hee would neuer haue done, if he had beene perswaded, that the adding of such a signe vnto his profession had beene an incroching vpon GODS owne prerogative and peculiar iurisdiction. The Christians likewise in the primitiue Church, cuer from the time of the very Apostles, haue vsed this same ceremonie of the crosse which is now in question, as a marke and a signe of their profession, and yet did neuer either they themselves thinke it, or the greatest aduersaries that they had, impute it, as a presumption and incroching against Gods owne prerogative, as *Saint Basil* obserueth: *Nec his quifquam contradicit* (saith hee, speaking of the traditions and

Aquin. 1. 2. Quæst. 103. Art. 4. c.

T. C. saith, that all the Christians of his time did the like, for the clearer & more open profession of their faith. Whitgift, p. 268.

Basil lib. de Spiritu sancto. cap. 27.